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AUTHOR
Chesler, Mark; And Others

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ABSTRACT This manual has been designed to assist teachers and principals to achieve integrated schools, primary attention being focused on the problems of racial integration--the issues between blacks and whites in the schools. Chapters deal with the following: the meaning of integration and of planning for school change, delineating a six-stage scheme for this process; information for principals and teachers about the important diagnostic stage; the role and activities of the classroom teacher, especially in regard to academic instruction and race relations in racially mixed classes; the principal as the school's administrative and educational leader and his relationship to the various people and groups important in effecting integration; and, the change processes necessary for the attainment of quality education in any school and their particular application to integrated schools. An annotated bibliography summarizing the issues and perspectives expressed in the manual is included. Appendixes carry examples and illustrations of some of the issues and points raised in the manual, such as diagnosis of the class, role playing in the class, curriculum on racism, class discussions of feelings and perceptions, diagnosis of school-wide sentiment, and principal designs for problem solving. [A phonograph record for use with the document is not available from EDRS but comes with the manual available from the Superintendent of Documents.] (RJ)

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PLANNING EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

VOLUME

III

INTEGRATING THE DESEGREGATED SCHOOL

Mark Chesler
Carl Jorgensen
Phyllis Erenberg

Center for Research on Utilization
of Scientific Knowledge
The University of Michigan

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PREFACE

This manual has been prepared to assist teachers and principals to achieve integrated schools. The term "racial integration" implies a condition in which members of different racial groups can relate to each other and work together while maintaining their distinctive identities. In an integrated school, differences among persons and groups are respected, accepted, and used as opportunities for learning and growth.

Unfortunately, racial integration is not widely present in our society. Practical experience with integration is so limited that most efforts to overcome racial isolation previously have aimed only at desegregation, not at the less easily attained state of integration. Black, brown, and white people usually live and work together with disparities in treatment, prestige, income, and power. Under such circumstances, mixing people of different races constitutes physical desegregation, but does not necessarily bring equal advantage and outcome. In some places where blacks and whites work and live together, the underlying concern is that blacks fit into customary "white" patterns. Whites then tolerate or approve of minority members who behave according to these patterns. The term assimilation describes this attempt by the majority to deny, ignore, or change differences which it does not value.

School integration will not solve *all* of the racial problems rampant in our Nation, but it is one of the primary requisites for America's realization of a just and egalitarian society. Black and brown parents who support and fight for desegregation and integration believe that their children receive inferior instructional services in segregated schools. White parents who fight for desegregation believe that their segregated children receive an unrealistic and harmful view of American society. The stigma of segregation corrodes the perspectives, expectations, and, in many cases, achievements of minority youngsters. But majority students, too, are disadvantaged by their segregated school experience. Prepared for an unreal version of our society, they only accumulate, rather than confront, racial shibboleths.

Throughout this manual primary attention is given to the problems of racial integration, to the issues between blacks and whites in our schools. This is appropriate indeed, since blacks are the Nation's largest clearly identifiable and segregated minority group. But problems of school and community integration face other cultural groups as well. Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Orientals, Indians, and others may experience the same kind of difficulties in the framework of their own styles and issues, and these, too, deserve special attention. The fact that this document is necessarily limited by time and space to one minority group should not be interpreted as a denial or disparagement of the need for positive school achievement and relationships among all of America's cultural groups.

Placing black Negro-Americans, brown Mexican-Americans, white Anglo-Americans, or youngsters of any group in schools which have failed to meet educational standards even before desegregation will not solve any problems. Desegregation and integration are part of a large framework of educational change. Although the primary focus of this manual is the creation of integration, there are numerous instances where integration can be successful only if other meaningful changes occur in schools. Racial integration may require a reevaluation of many time-honored educational traditions.

The following pages are divided into twelve chapters. The first is a general discussion of the meaning of integration and of planning for school change, delineating a six-stage

scheme for this change process. The second chapter provides information for principals and teachers about the important diagnostic stage. Chapters 3 through 5 concentrate on the role and activities of the classroom teacher. Particular emphasis is placed on attitudes and methods for facilitating positive race relations and academic instruction in racially mixed classes. The next four chapters focus on the principal as the school's administrative and educational leader and his relationship to the various people and groups important in bringing about integration. Chapters 10 and 11 describe some of the change processes necessary for the attainment of quality education in any school and their particular application to integrated schools. Chapter 12 is an annotated bibliography summarizing the issues and perspectives expressed throughout this manual.

The last section contains examples and illustrations of some of the issues and points raised in the body of the manual. While presented as appendixes, they represent a beginning, not an end, in the search for and creation of new methods and approaches to integrated education.

A record is attached for use in conjunction with your reading. It includes the quotations in designated places in the manual. Each time a recorded quotation appears in the text it is keyed to the appropriate band on the record. The statements and experiences relayed in this way are representative of the experiences and inquiries of people actively involved in school change. The vignettes convey feelings and drama which we felt could be captured better through the sound medium than through the written word.

School integration is a complex and difficult task; to suggest otherwise would be naive. But it can be achieved by persons with courage, commitment, and skill who have the political and professional support of major institutions inside and outside the school. There will be many times when people committed to integration will experience anxiety, fear, doubt, hostility, and other equally unsettling emotions. Nagging questions will plague the dedicated educator about his effectiveness in creating interracial collaboration. This is natural. It is important to press for change and to strive for quality integrated education. It is also important to relax, to help yourself and your students accept and work within their own and the school's limitations. Integration can be an enriching and rewarding process for both students and educators. We wish you good luck.

Mark Chesler
Carl Jorgensen
Phyllis Erenberg

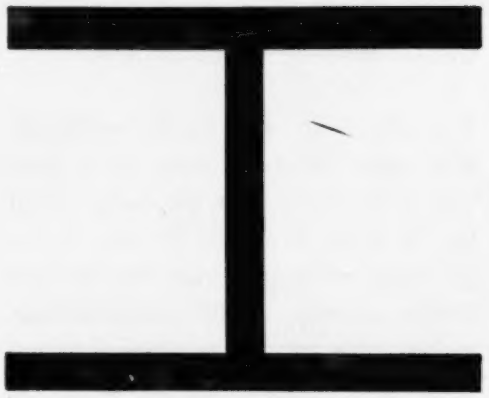
CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
1.	Achieving Racial Integration in Schools	1
2.	Diagnosing the Potential for Change	5
3.	The Roles of the Classroom Teacher	9
4.	Facilitating Positive Racial Relations: The Teacher's Role	13
5.	Academic Instruction: The Teacher's Role	21
6.	The Roles of the School Principal	27
7.	The Principal and Student Involvement	30
8.	The Principal and Community Support	37
9.	The Principal and the Professional Staffs	39
10.	Training Programs for Teachers and Principals	44
11.	Changing Professional Roles and Structures	48
12.	Bibliographic Summary	50

APPENDIXES

A.	Diagnosis of the Class	53
B.	Role Playing in Class	55
C.	Curriculum on Racism	58
D.	Class Discussions of Feelings and Perceptions	60
E.	Diagnosis of School-Wide Sentiment	62
F.	Principal Designs for Problem Solving	65
G.	Suggestions for Using the Record	66

Acknowledgments 71



Achieving Racial Integration in Schools

RECORD BAND #1:

> (Teacher 1) I don't care if we are desegregated or not. Kids are kids whether they are black, white, green, or purple. They all have to learn.
>
> (Teacher 2) Well, it's not the academic point of view that I'm worried about. If they can't do the work you can just give them an F, but it makes me *sick* to think of them representing our school in these public activities.

This conversation between two teachers in a newly desegregated school touches on four issues important to school integration: (1) academic instruction; (2) extracurricular activities; (3) social relationships among people of different races; and (4) faculty and administrative views of racial relations. The resolution of these issues ultimately will determine the success or failure of integration.

The quantity and quality of school desegregation directly affects the potential for integration. School systems which "desegregate" by placing a small minority of black students in a white school may satisfy certain political requirements but do not create the heterogeneity required for an integrated system. When only a few "token" blacks enter a predominantly white school, they are too often isolated or engulfed by the majority. Larger minority groups can provide members with the support and protection necessary for new relations with persons of different racial or ethnic heritage. Similarly, desegregation accompanied by a great deal of community and school resistance and strife is unlikely to lay effective groundwork for integration. Desegregation can only become integration when students of all racial, cultural, and class backgrounds are free to learn in an atmosphere devoid of invidious group distinctions and barriers.

Integration should ensure the academic growth of blacks, browns, and whites. This involves not only accepting individual differences but also using differences as a basis for learning about each other. New lesson plans and curriculum programs should be planned which take into account the interests and needs of diverse racial and ethnic groups. Such programs may require changing the traditional role of a teacher in a classroom and providing assistance while teachers work with individuals or small groups of students. In this way, students may work in areas which interest them, and the disinterested are not forced to participate. Teacher 1 was partly correct; "Kids are kids whether they are black, white, green, or purple. They all have to learn." But they do not all have to learn the same things at the same rate. Their individual differences, as well as their separate ethnic backgrounds and identities, may require different educational programs.

The nature and organization of extracurricular activities, as well as the distribution of symbolic offices of the school are important indicators of the quality of integration. Extracurricular activities are sometimes dominated by members of a particular racial or cultural group. For an integrated situation it is imperative that clubs and associations be representative of the diverse school population. School-wide student councils, human relations councils, and similar organizations should have equal representation from all groups within the school. Only then can students view the councils' actions as reflecting fairly the interests of subgroups within the school. In a similar vein, the symbolic offices of a school (beauty queens and cheerleaders) are extremely important to students. Their composition symbolizes the acceptance or rejection of diversity by the faculty and student body. If these honorary roles are all white or all black in an interracial setting, it is evident to the minority students that they are not accepted, and they conclude that other students and faculty do not care if they succeed.

Social activities should not be considered apart from all other school activities, because they may permit students to experiment with new forms of social living. Moreover, positive and friendly social relations can support students' intellectual efforts. Integration suggests and permits the possibility of strong friendships among students of different races and ethnic groups. These options for friendship are in the students' own hands; nevertheless, official school policies can help the process by refusing to uphold traditional standards for homogeneous grouping. Interracial dating and friendships can be expected and must be approved in general by peers, teachers, and other school personnel.

Finally, an integrated school must have a racially mixed faculty committed to the positions described here. Schools staffed by administrators, faculty members, or service personnel of only one race or ethnic

group epitomize a segregated and stratified society. Experiments in new racial or educational patterns for students are impossible in such a context. Schools in which only whites hold leadership positions are themselves examples of the difficulty blacks and other minorities have in obtaining economic and political equality. Such practices are a complete contradiction of the slogan that "you can do anything you're qualified to do." Black or white teachers who do not talk to each other and have had no significant interracial friendships encourage students to follow their example. Thus, the behavior of faculty and staff members should actively encourage interracial social associations.

A close relationship between school personnel and the surrounding community can help accelerate change. In an integrated school teachers and administration should motivate the community toward the creation of a more integrated school and society. Refusal to hold school functions in facilities that do not employ both blacks and whites, soliciting scholarship aid for students who want to go to college, and publicly supporting equal employment opportunities and job advancement are some of the ways in which educators can work in the community to encourage integration.

WHY INTEGRATION IS A WORTHWHILE GOAL

Integration can be advantageous to blacks and whites and to members of any of the groups comprising American society. Whites from a homogeneous environment often feel naive and unprepared for the complexities of living and competing in a society where many of their acquaintances have different values and different styles of life. Many also feel guilty about the elite and protected character of their education and residence. Integration can expand their world by providing them with a realistic knowledge of their history and traditions. Although confrontations with reality may loosen cherished myths, students will be much better prepared to meet present and future conflicts. In addition to books and curriculum materials about other cultures, black or brown students in class can help whites understand the reality of police and government bureaucracy, the real liabilities of neighborhood political processes, and the fabric of racial and status discrimination. In some areas, black elementary school children have more autonomy than their white classmates and can serve as models and provide examples for operating in the outside world.

Black students also can derive many advantages from integrated education, although it is unlikely that they will be as naive as white students about different cultural styles. Black insistence upon integration is linked to a desire to receive a fair share of the physical and human resources in the classroom. Thus, black movement into previously all-white schools usually means access to better educational opportunity. Most black (and white) students have not experienced being an equal member of a biracial culture; this can be a valuable product of school integration. Integration may also provide blacks with the experience of successful school achievement in collaboration or competition with whites. This does not follow automatically, however, from a desegregated classroom. Although many black students come to the integrated situation without traditional tools and skills, they may have an unrealistically low view of their own background and ability. The association and competition that contradicts these expectations often provides increased incentive for scholastic achievement.

The possibility also exists that black and white students may form positive friendships. To the extent that the primary need of blacks is for political, economic, and educational advancement, social relationships with whites may be secondary. When close interpersonal relationships do occur, however, they provide as many advantages to blacks as they do to whites.

In addition to the immediate personal gains for students and teachers, which are made possible by integrated schools, there are longer range potentials for society. In the larger sense, movement for integration results from a realization that segregation has deleterious economic, political, and moral consequences. The segregated systems where minority group education was underfinanced and occupational discrimination was rampant seriously reduced these students' motivation to achieve and the community's potential for growth and peace. Morally and politically, it is clear that the Nation's chances of survival as a democracy rest upon its ability to act on ideals of racial justice and to extend advantages to all.

Integrated education can provide an example and an opportunity for later political, economic, and social collaboration. Participation in integrated education for 12 years of public schooling will provide students and adults with experience of life in a new social order. If these experiences are successful, this fact alone would be a significant step toward obtaining racial justice. It would also test the possibility of utilizing, and learning how to utilize, cultural differences as bases for fruitful collaboration rather than as grounds for fruitless conflict.

HOW INTEGRATION IS PLANNED

Movement from racial separatism or mere desegregation is most likely to be successful when it is carefully and systematically planned and when it utilizes the skills of each teacher, student, and administrator. Although racial integration differs from other school improvements, all attempts to change schools share some common characteristics. Educational practitioners and behavioral scientists suggest a six-stage schema for planning school change:

1) Identification of goals
2) Diagnosis of the current situation
3) Development and test of instructional programs
4) Preparation for change and implementation of plan
5) Evaluation of change produced
6) Maintenance of change and reconsideration of goals.

The earlier statements of the nature and purpose of integration provide a general framework for school and classroom goals. However, they are broadly stated and therefore can be redefined and implemented in multiple and contradictory ways by different teachers. While that may produce some positive innovations, it also may allow others to teach, manage, or serve in ways that are at variance with, or subvert, the goals of quality integrated education. Teachers and principals who can delineate desired characteristics of the integrated classroom or of observable student and adult behavior will be better able to design strategies to reach those goals. Some actual case studies of the goals established by teachers in the midst of integration may serve as an example.

Miss Loreen Goodman is a high school English teacher in a northern suburb. Black students have been attending her class in increasing numbers for the past 5 or 6 years. She had continuing concern about the relatively low performance of black students and reported to us a desire to "improve the academic achievement of all students." Although this was a laudable goal, our feeling was that it was too broad and vague to provide a clear basis for planning change. We spoke with her regarding the specific kinds of achievement in which she was interested. As we worked with Miss Goodman to help her further specify her goals, it gradually became clear that she wanted to help young people read and understand literature by relating it to current events and issues. Under further probing, she defined her goal as that of helping black and white youngsters interpret novels and essays of social protest and criticism in ways that would provide them with insights about contemporary policy. At the end of our conversations, her original intent was much clearer; it was specific.

The progressive clarification of another teacher's goals will further illustrate the initial step of goal-setting in a change process. Mrs. Portia Harris teaches the fifth grade in a small town in the mid-South. She has been teaching black and white students during the past 4 years. There are now six black youngsters in a class of 31. Mrs. Harris was primarily concerned about "stopping the fighting between the races" that seemed to erupt continually among her students. We tried to help her restate and rethink this goal in positive terms. Goals focused on ending unpleasant situations are less likely to be constructive than those which are oriented towards positive ends. Stating the negative case does not provide a direction for change; it is therefore unlikely to sustain changes beyond the end of the unpleasant situation or to create exciting and enjoyable teaching and learning situations. Specifying potential and desirable outcomes can provide a helpful stimulus for designing change strategies. Mrs. Harris altered her original concern to focus on creating friendly and helpful academic and social relations among her black and white students. This positive goal statement provided a vision beyond the end of disorder and pain; it was also a vision that she could share and discuss with others.

In the attempt to create integrated learning situations, each teacher must establish goals for his or her own classroom. Goals should provide direction for instructional strategies, but they should also be flexible enough to be altered as the situation demands. Goals do not have to be dictated by the principal or teacher alone; students also can participate in formulating and implementing them. Some examples of appropriate goal statements for different classrooms might include:

1) Effective utilization of all students' academic abilities in relatively equivalent degrees

$$\frac{\text{performance}}{\text{potential}} \text{ or } \frac{\text{achievement}}{\text{ability}} = \text{utilization}$$

2) Black and white student recognition of cultural differences as legitimate and valuable
3) Student understanding (to different degrees at different grade levels) of the causes of individual and group differences
4) A substantial number of friendship choices extending across racial lines in class and school activities
5) Black and white students empathiz-

ing with and having accurate perceptions of the feelings and views of students of the other race

6) Teaching information about instructional attitudes or behaviors which lead students of either race to classify the teacher as fair or unfair.

Principals and teachers need to understand the specific situations in the school or classroom which may be relevant to attaining these goals. It will be necessary to gather information on many technical matters such as numbers of students, distribution of black, brown, and white students in classrooms and lunchrooms, faculty placement, physical facilities, transportation possibilities, community demography, and the like. The state of human resources, such as the needs, desires, abilities, and responses of students and educators also must be determined.

The principal can begin with an inquiry into his or her own views and skills and those of teachers and staff members. Principals' and teachers' attitudes about members of another race and about the meaning and impact of race relations in schools will influence the outcomes of integration efforts. After assessing attitudes and skills, the principal can consider staff recruitment or inservice training programs that would support the needed changes. In addition, inquiries should be made about the academic performance levels and the character of race relations of student groups. Finally, the principal must assess the potential support of parent groups, community organizations, and local political forces for new patterns of instruction and social living.

Each teacher will, of course, have to diagnose his or her own classroom situation and personal resources before developing instructional plans. Teachers will have to examine their own attitudes and feelings about black and white students as well as about classroom integration.

The next step in the process of planned change requires the creation of school and classroom programs designed to reach established goals. The principal must develop a comprehensive program of support for integration that encourages teacher commitment to the specific goals. He or she must be concerned with the development and testing of several alternative plans for staff organization and support before selecting the one to utilize. Similarly, teachers should prepare various curriculum programs. Multiple plans provide flexibility and an opportunity to experiment with more than one scenario of potential change.

In the reality of the classroom even carefully prepared plans may prove to be unrealistic and fail to translate teachers' ideals and designs into appropriate action. Therefore, it is advisable for educators to test their instructional or organizational plan(s) prior to full implementation. When time is available, such tests may help provide insights for a revision of the plan and also may prevent some of the disastrous failures resulting from premature, general, or inconclusive plans. Numerous ill-conceived plans have created so much faculty, student, or community resistance that all subsequent teaching efforts became much more difficult. However, even when teachers are confident about plans, feasibility testing may provide further clarification.

Ways of testing new programs may include conducting small-scale pilot programs, sharing proposed designs with various members of professional and student groups, asking groups of parents for their opinions, programing a series of role-play demonstrations, etc. If possible, participants should experience the implications and arrangements of plans, rather than merely their designs on paper. However, any test procedure should elicit the reactions of people other than those who were involved in the design of the plan. Thus, one can progress beyond guessing about probable results and reactions.

Given the relative lack of preparation of most teachers and principals for interracial learning situations, there is a paramount need for staff training programs. Training programs which anticipate educators' needs for information, skills, or organizational support for change can be very useful in preventing errors caused by unskilled teachers and administrators. Training for interracial education should not be limited to preintegration efforts but should continue throughout the duration of teaching-learning activities.

Many good plans for integration fail at the point of their actual implementation in the school and community. Success requires that classroom tactics be well considered and specific enough to deal with a variety of realistic problems. In addition, the principal must plan procedures for announcing school policy, for beginning the process of change, and for emphasizing the school's commitment to that policy. The principal must be vigorous, clear, and forthright about the goals previously established with the staff, in addition to providing continuing support to the teachers and students in class.

The superintendent may be politically and administratively accountable for the welfare of the school system, but the teachers, principals,

and counselors on the "front-lines" must put plans for quality education into practice. Implementation of integration clearly requires that the people entrusted with various responsibilities know enough to be committed to work on their own. Moreover, students and parents must live with the effects of integration. As they take their own risks, they must know they have constant personal support from the principal and teachers. Otherwise, it will be difficult for them to cope with their own fears and with negative reactions they may receive from colleagues, friends, parents, or members of the community. The need for support does not cease after integration begins; it must be reinforced constantly with energy and skill.

Once instructional designs for integration have been implemented, it is essential to plan for getting feedback and for evaluating the students' and system's progress. The principal who recognizes this necessity can design evaluative procedures before planned change occurs. An evaluation can indicate the degree to which teachers, principals, board members, and community people are fulfilling their commitments to quality integrated education. An evaluation also can measure the degree to which integration has influenced the lives of teachers, parents, and youngsters. The impact of integration may be reflected in increased levels of school performance and academic achievement; it may create new orientations and aspirations toward future job and employment markets; it may be reflected in more positive interracial associations and human relationships. It is also possible that an evaluation may indicate effects of integration that were not anticipated by planners. Finally, an effective evaluation can provide guidelines for the alteration of current teaching strategies and aid the effort to create a refined and more adequate educational program in the future. Since more reliable information can be gathered by more sophisticated techniques, educators should be prepared to call upon social scientists for help in designing questions, establishing a sample of respondents, and interpreting the data.

Just as desegregation is only the first step in a continuing program of change leading to racial integration, integration is only one step leading to academic and social success for all youngsters. School leaders must continually plan, modify, and redevelop new information and goals. As problems, personnel, and the potential of instructional designs change, new plans must be created, put into operation, and evaluated.

Diagnosing the Potential for Change

A thorough diagnosis of school and classroom situations provides a basis for recognizing and understanding the resources or barriers which may influence integration. A good diagnosis is a concise, complete, and accurate description of factors which affect the specific goals or problems being considered. With such information, educators can plan to alter school and classroom conditions to create a positive educational environment.

THE PRINCIPAL'S DIAGNOSIS

While preparing to create a high quality educational atmosphere, the school principal must assess the needs, skills, and resources of several different groups with which he deals. Community members, school staff, service personnel, and students possess information potentially useful for a greater understanding of the reality of race relations, academic instruction, community expectations, parental pressures, etc.

First, the principal must honestly assess his or her own opinions and actions and understand their importance in the effort to achieve quality integrated education. Some self-inquiry items for the concerned principal should include the following:

Do I as a principal:
- —often solicit the views and reactions of different student groups?
- —know how to find out about and influence the behavior of teachers who practice overt or subtle forms of racial or ethnic discrimination?
- —tell my superiors how I feel when their plans do not meet my educational goals?
- —become annoyed and angry when confronted with inadequacies in the school and say or do things which I later regret?
- —deal openly with the possibility of racial tension among staff members?
- —feel prepared to terminate the contracts of teachers who are intellectually or emotionally brutal to children of any race or subgroup?
- —implement needed programs and changes before or after pressure groups confront me?
- —implement plans for educational change in controversial areas in spite of potentially unpleasant incidents?
- —understand the rationale for the

positions and arguments of minority groups in the community?
—have the time and energy to meet with and help teachers deal with classroom problems?

Have I examined the following distinctions? Are they clear and can I recognize and give examples of each? Can I assess the effects of each example on diverse groups of students and parents?

1) Action based on the belief that blacks are culturally and intellectually inferior.
2) Action based on a dislike or fear of a racial group and the intentional or unintentional communication of this fact.
3) Tendencies to judge persons of one race by different standards than those of another, in a consistently detrimental manner.
4) Tendencies to judge persons of different races or groups by standards which are valid for one but may not be for the others.
5) The passive posture of persons toward the existence of racially discriminatory actions within the school or the local community.

The complex set of local community organizations, clubs, informal social units, and church groups may initially represent barriers to the eventual integration of the school. They also may represent vast hidden resources that in time can be used to help facilitate change in school patterns. The only way a principal can feel secure in assessment of the local community is by systematically and consciously soliciting and collecting the residents' attitudes and positions. This may be accomplished by inviting community members to meetings at the school. A principal may also utilize already-existing community organizations to provide open forums for community opinions. Problem checklists may be created for parents or club members to fill out; or people may be asked to anticipate some of the problems that may arise in the effort to achieve integration. After problems are recognized, these contacts can suggest ways of meeting and working on the issues outlined. This way parents and community members can participate in diagnosing and helping overcome the barriers to integrated education.

One principal was especially adept at assessing and utilizing such community resources. Mr. Roy Wyatt had been an elementary principal in a northern city for 7 years. He felt there were a number of things he really didn't know about the community's reactions to racial matters, even though he had many contacts in the local area. He invited several leaders of community groups to visit the school. During the visit he introduced these leaders to the staff, teachers, and several students of both races. He asked the leaders to spend some time at school and to discover what seemed to obstruct improved education. He then asked them to think about ways in which their organizations could contribute to removing some of the obstructions. Together they drew up a plan for canvassing their memberships on key issues such as: Where do we have models of good interracial relations? Do some of our members know of interesting curriculum items they could present to a class? Which parents would be willing to have informal interracial coffee hours for other parents in the class? Which parents would help give special tutoring? Are there groups of members who are especially uninformed about or upset at interracial schooling? Who are they, and can they be invited to meet with the principal or with parents more committed to integration?

When group leaders distributed these questions to their members in an informal one-page questionnaire they gathered a wide variety of views from many people. Numerous covert grievances were aired and shared; people who wished to be helpful were identified. This gave Mr. Wyatt, in collaboration with the organizational leaders, a wider group of people who could help achieve integration. Although his major emphasis was on diagnosing aspects of school-community relations and community reactions, other principals may use this procedure to get information and support from the community in meeting other problems of the educational system.

Many principals overlook the need to assess staff attitudes and skills and to determine ways the staff can contribute to new designs for education. Since integration depends on teachers' classroom skills, policy will be effective only if the principal understands the postures and positions of the teaching staff and engages them in the creation and implementation of new programs. Moreover, on many desegregated staffs there are deep cleavages between black and white teachers. If principals are unaware of this staff pattern they cannot alter existing barriers to integration and they are unlikely to create positive race relations within their staff. Various instruments which can be used to assess staff resources include morale surveys, indexes of teacher satisfaction, assessments of teachers' attitudes toward youngsters, views of racial matters, and views of new classroom practices. Appropriate questions to ask teachers include the following:

Would you rather teach an all-white, all-black, all-minority, or mixed class? Why?

Does a racially mixed class require any special procedures?

In curriculum
In discipline
In attention to peer social relations

What three ways would you like the principal of this school to change?

What special ideas or lesson plans have you found helpful in teaching an interracial class?

Have you shared them with any colleagues?

Which colleagues give you help on such issues?

What are the most important things a white youngster can learn in an integrated classroom?

How can we help him learn this?

These and other inquiries can be written down in a standard form and distributed to the staff. An alternative would be to substitute open staff discussion for personal questionnaire responses and to have small group discussions on these topics. In either case the principal should publicly share the results of this inquiry with the faculty. Together they can proceed to interpret the data and perhaps plan for change.

Other school personnel also represent important elements of a total school diagnosis. Janitorial, secretarial, and lunchroom personnel have an impact upon the tenor of the school and the relationships among adults and students. In many cases, well-made curriculum designs have been frustrated by the unnecessary and unchecked comments of people not considered and included in planning policy. It is crucial for the principal to understand the position of the school's service staffs on issues related to new patterns of quality education and to consider and organize their potential for supporting school change.

Principals must understand students' feelings. Recent explosions in high schools around the country testify to the often serious gap in information and opinion between students and school administrators. Principals who are not aware of student feelings, grievances, goals, and desires cannot possibly behave in ways that maximize student involvement in learning. Whether through large surveys, informal group meetings, or the establishment of representative political systems, the principal must consider some means of getting adequate diagnostic information about the character of student needs and desires and about the systematic patterns of relationships among white and black students in the school.

THE TEACHER'S DIAGNOSIS

Teachers also must have detailed information about learning and social processes in the classroom. Otherwise, their plans and programs to achieve instructional integration will be inadequate. All too often, a teacher's interpretation of classroom dynamics is based on his or her perceptions of a few highly prominent actions. These are simply not sufficient for planning classroom curriculums or instructional designs. Teachers who wish to enhance classroom interaction by forming small groups of students to work together must know what the most effective working patterns may be. Teachers who wish students to take leadership in academic presentations must know the skills of individual students in particular curricular areas. Teachers who wish to teach black culture and explore black-white relationships must understand themselves, their students, and the community before designing such programs.

One of the initial diagnostic efforts, therefore, must be an attempt by teachers to understand their own actions and beliefs. Some of the inquiries teachers may direct at themselves include the following:

Do I feel and act differently to persons of brown, black, or white groups?

What are the ways I express strong positive feelings toward students in my class?

Could interracial violence occur in my class? What would I do if this happened?

Do I feel frightened when surrounded by six or eight teenagers of another race?

Do I assume that black and brown students are likely to be slower learners than whites?

Do I assume that white students have racist feelings? If so, what are they?

Do I, or other teachers at this school, have racist feelings? If so, what are they?

Will white students obey me as quickly as black students?

How does my classroom directly contribute to the attainment of racial justice?

There are two basic ways a teacher can diagnose student relations in the classroom: (1) through the use of questionnaires, surveys, and interviews with individuals or groups of students; and (2) through techniques of observing classroom interaction and behavior. These methods can be used separately or together. Perhaps the most difficult task for the teacher is to identify which issues must be examined and assessed. Students' feelings about themselves and their peers are an important factor. Students may be asked about their own attitudes and their perceptions

of their competence; they also may be asked sociometric questions about their feelings towards other students in the classroom. The teacher can sum or rank individual sociometric choices to find out who are peer leaders or who wishes to work with whom. With this information, learning groups can be created.

Another important area of classroom life involves students' attitudes and reactions to the teacher. The teacher can elicit student feelings by asking for suggested changes in the classroom; he or she may also ask students to describe what the classroom is like. This approach to diagnostic feedback can be used when there is sufficient classroom trust for students to state their negative and positive comments freely. The teacher may also invite a colleague to watch the classroom at work and share his observations.

In chapter I the reader was introduced to Miss Loreen Goodman and her high school English class. As Miss Goodman clarified her goals of helping black and white youngsters understand social criticism she also considered diagnosing the current state of critical thinking among her students. She felt such information was important in her efforts to select appropriate reading materials and instructional designs. Miss Goodman first selected several social issues which seemed to be vital aspects of race relations. They included the causes of black militancy; the discriminatory nature of American institutions; white ignorance of Chicano, Oriental, and Indian cultures; and the potential for more positive social arrangements. She designed several questions which would give her some understanding of the way students in her class felt about these problems. The following examples illustrate some of the kinds of questions she wanted to ask:

1) What causes the anger of some black people?
2) Do you think urban riots have helped the Negroes, hurt them, or made no difference?
3) What would be the best thing to do to make life better for black or Chicano students?
4) Do *many, some,* or *few* Negroes in this city miss out on jobs today because of racial discrimination?
5) Do *many, some,* or *few* Negroes in this city miss out on good housing because of racial discrimination?
6) Are judges and policemen in this city harder on Negroes than on whites?
   Yes_____
   No_____
7) Do you think *most, some,* or *few* whites are afraid of Negroes?
8) Are things getting better or worse for Chicanos? Why?
9) What would be the most important thing to make better relations between the races?
10) The most important thing I can do to change racial discrimination is . . .

Miss Goodman listed all these questions on a piece of paper and asked students to write their reactions. They were told there were no "correct" answers but that their views and opinions were valued. Students were instructed not to put their names on the sheets. All answers were anonymous. The guarantee of anonymity ensured each student's privacy, thus increasing the possibility that they would answer honestly and without fear of reprisal.

When Miss Goodman received the students' responses, she grouped the answers to each question to see the general outline of her class' views. The students varied in their answers. Black students answered several questions differently than did whites. For instance, black students seldom mentioned looters or communists as riot causes and, more often than whites, felt that many Negroes missed out on housing or jobs because of discrimination. White students, more than Negroes, felt that things were getting better and that riots had hurt the Negro cause. There was great variation within and between races on answers to questions 3 and 9. These data were most instructive to Miss Goodman, who now felt she had some material with which to plan her courses of instruction.

Mrs. Portia Harris designed and conducted different diagnostic procedures for her 5th-grade class. She assumed that there would be some resistance, especially from parents, to active friendships among black and white students. However, the degree and quality of such resistance and the potential of support for her efforts were unknown. She decided to inquire into students' perceptions of their personal and family situations. A questionnaire approach to diagnosis seemed difficult with 5th graders, but Mrs. Harris did design a few short questions. Her main diagnostic effort, however, was through the use of role playing. She designed a series of episodes that would dramatize youngsters' desires, abilities, and responses regarding interracial friendships and fighting. Several of the situations she designed are included below.

#1 This scene includes four actors; one Negro boy, two white boys, and one white girl. As they are standing near the water fountain, a white boy and the Negro boy start to drink at the same time. Who is to drink first? What happens?
#2 Two Negro girls and a white girl are standing together talking

about the day's assignment. A second white girl comes up to them and invites the white girl to a special party she's giving for some of the members of the class. What do the Negro girls do?

#3 Scene 2 is replayed with two white girls talking with one Negro. A second Negro girl comes and invites only the Negro to a party. Now what happens?

#4 A white girl is talking with her parents. She wants to invite one of her class friends home for dinner. Her friend is black. How does she ask her parents? What do they say?

After each situation was dramatized, Mrs. Harris asked the class to discuss their reaction to what happened among the actors. Black students and white students, as separate groups and then together, shared their views of the behaviors demonstrated.

The role playing scenes and subsequent classroom discussion indicated the youngsters' greater ability to deal with each other than to cope with parental pressures. Furthermore, the water fountain scene demonstrated all students' difficulty in deescalating or backing off from tense situations. Feelings of pride dominated the action and caused actors to suspect one another's motives. Accidents became maliciously intended acts, and taking turns became less important than winning. With these clear messages in mind, Mrs. Harris began designing ways of dealing with these feelings and issues in class.

It is important that teachers and principals exercise care and restraint while collecting diagnostic data. Educators should seek only information that is in the interest of, and relevant to, the enhancement of students' academic and social development. Care should be taken not to invade anyone's personal privacy, unnecessarily stimulate private and antagonistic reactions, or exploit or punish students for their honest responses. Formal diagnostic tools should be employed extensively only by those educators who are prepared to explain the objectives and methods of these efforts to interested and concerned members of student or community groups.

The collection of diagnostic information is not an end in itself. It is useful only as it aids the creation of improved managerial and instructional designs. At no point in our discussion of a diagnosis do we mean to imply that the commitment to school integration should be mediated or changed by negative responses from the community, staff, or student groups. Rather, educators must seek to anticipate and analyze potential problems and resources and gather support to make it possible to realize school goals.

III

The Roles of the Classroom Teacher

In many situations, school integration may be successful only because of the teacher's skillful management of the classroom. The teacher who contributes to integration may play a variety of roles. At times, these roles involve direct teaching of academic or cognitive material—facts, theories, and procedures. At other times, the desired learning is more affective in nature—it involves feelings, attitudes, and emotional behavior. Integration frequently requires serious consideration of students' values and emotional reactions toward instructional materials, classmates, and the teacher before academic growth can take place. At the same time, students must be helped to check beliefs, perceptions, and reactions against available cognitive evidence.

Success in promoting cognitive learning and in facilitating interracial interaction depends upon a judicious choice of roles determined by the teacher's and students' needs and competencies during any particular classroom episode. A narrow concept of teaching is inadequate for the daily and changing pressures of integration. Each teacher must consider a wide range of possible classroom styles before deciding upon his or her approach to the interracial classroom. At times, the teacher may consider and present a model for students' social behavior. On other occasions the teacher may be an organizer of the classroom social environment or a link with community issues and events. The most effective instructional approach may be to transmit academic material, to act as a resource linking students with inquiry materials, or to help students discover their own needs and agenda. Finally, the teacher can adopt the posture of a co-learner in a shared program of student-teacher inquiry. Each teacher may make different and equally valid choices among these alternatives from time to time.

THE TEACHER AS MODEL

The manner in which the teacher of an integrated class approaches students and the course material conveys his or her attitude about the

profession and the ideas and subjects under consideration. Using the teacher as an example, students may imagine what it would be like to be a competent learner or a practitioner in a field. The teacher also serves as a social model in setting the tone of an interracial classroom. White and black students often take their cues from the teacher in deciding how they must treat each other, at least in the teacher's presence or in class.

The teacher's actions and stated values must be consistent if they are to have a positive effect upon students. If students perceive that a teacher behaves one way while expecting different or even contradictory behavior from them, they are unlikely to believe or follow that teacher's words. If a teacher is positive toward students of both races, students can see the desirable behavior demonstrated. Serving as a model for student behavior requires some self-examination on the part of the teacher. Sometimes actions which are not intended as condescending to certain students can seem so to them, with negative results. For example, using a student's name correctly may be important to a successful relationship between that child and the teacher. White teachers shortening black students' names, i.e., James and Thomas to Jimmy and Tommie, may be considered paternalistic. For the same reason, students' nicknames should not be used without their permission. Racial jokes and attempts to demonstrate undue familiarity with aspects of black, Chicano, or other minority cultures may be quite offensive to members of those groups. When there are already seeds of racial mistrust between teachers and students, or among students, insensitive actions can build an impenetrable wall between these groups.

Conversation is another medium in which the teacher serves as a model for interracial relations. One black counselor noted recently:

> There is frequently little eye contact with teachers who are threatened by, or unaccustomed to, minority students. Students frequently get the attitude that the teacher is not talking to them.

Not being able to look a student in the eye not only implies that the teacher isn't talking directly to the student, but also suggests that the teacher may not want to see him in that class at all. Similarly, if a white teacher is reluctant to touch or otherwise express warmth toward black students, white students will not be encouraged to overcome similar anxieties. If teachers behave as though black students are invisible or unlikable, white students may adopt or maintain this assumption. Black youngsters may turn away from the possibility of direct contact or become angry at their rejections.

A teacher may use an active rather than passive style, urging students to follow certain standards. For example, teachers should use and insist that students use words like "Negro," "black," and "Afro-American" rather than "colored" or "nigger." Such basic rules are essential for communication and respect, and students will recognize and follow them if the teacher requires it.

THE TEACHER AS ORGANIZER OF PEER RELATIONS

Various sets of supportive interpersonal and group relations in the classroom can be used consciously to assist academic learning and social growth. A teacher can facilitate students' relations to one another by attempting to create a cohesive classroom group which would develop its own norms and self-regulatory devices as well as academic and social leadership patterns. Every class has in it the seeds of such student cohesion, but most teachers frustrate its development because of their own desires for control of classroom interaction. They may fear their own inability to lead or influence a class that can provide leadership for itself. Other teachers fail to encourage meaningful student involvement in this way because they fear an inhibiting rather than liberating influence on academic growth. There are some grounds for such concern; student standards may result in a stifling conformity unless issues are faced squarely.

Various strategies may be used by teachers adopting this professional role. Students may be asked to form subgroups according to their own liking. They may also be asked to group with persons whom they don't know or who are different from themselves. Either of these strategies alone would be insufficient; both together create interaction and encourage subgroup relations on very diverse bases. Formed in this way, subgroups can work together and support members' academic development. Members can explore their relationships to one another and to the entire class. Classroom discussion of class progress is necessary; only by examining what they are doing can students avoid the pitfalls of apathy or conformity and learn how they can create a supportive class by themselves.

Another group activity can involve all the students in the classroom in selecting, organizing, and carrying on learning tasks by themselves. In this situation, the teacher's function is to help students organize to work with one another. Learning tasks suitable for group work should be designed in ways that reward group, not merely individual, effort. Thus, the viability

of the group is supported by the nature of its task. The teacher may also help create divisions of labor for subtasks and encourage plural forms of group and class leadership.

Generally it is very useful for the teacher to arrange to have one or two students remain apart from any group and observe the members' feelings and behaviors. They can be asked to comment on group processes and initiate discussion of alternative ways of working. This pattern of systematic and self-conscious reflection can help groups correct for actions that hinder rather than help them work together. These comments concerning process may be particularly potent and helpful when they come from an "insider," a fellow student.

THE TEACHER AS TRANSMITTER OF ACADEMIC KNOWLEDGE

The direct transmission of facts, theories, and learning procedures from teachers or teaching materials to students has been the most traditional instructional method. In this style of instruction the teacher lectures, prescribes exercises, plans activities, and otherwise helps students absorb the curriculum content. The prearranged curriculum is the major, and sometimes exclusive, focus of school and classroom work.

This instructional role is often experienced by students as rather dry and unstimulating. Since this is the only way most teachers have been trained, the transmission technique is sometimes used even when students could learn more effectively in other ways and when teachers could use styles more suited to their special talents and skills. This technique requires material that is exciting and meaningful to youngsters and a delivery that is imaginative and captivating. The teacher also must translate and present standard material in ways that are relevant to students' lives and their current situations.

THE TEACHER AS AGENT OF STUDENT DISCOVERY

Aiding the process of student discovery is a different instructional role than transmitting knowledge. In fact, the initiative for doing academic work is reversed. Transmission assumes teacher initiative while discovery processes require students to take initiatives to which the teacher responds.

The essential components of the teacher's role in discovery learning are to create appropriate situations or events that spark students' interests, to respond to their curiosity with helpful resources, and to help them review what they learn and the ways they proceed to learn. The teacher is not passive but is an active guide for student inquiries and the use of resources.

In all teaching efforts the teacher attempts to link the knowledge or material to be learned with the discoveries learners wish to make. This role of resource linker can be used to help students confront materials conducive to their growth, if the teacher has or knows about useful sets of resources relevant to students' learning goals. Class libraries, school or community libraries, other young people, parents, city halls, newspapers, and personal experiences may be used as resources for different inquiries. A survey of potential resources, in order to identify and ensure their availability, can be made by students, the teacher, or as a collaborative class exercise. If useful resources in a given area are not available, the class may have to invent or create them.

The teacher who can refer students to places where the answers can be found is relieved of the burden of having to know the answers. The need to know the answers is a major constraint on many teachers' spontaneity and ability to innovate and causes some to be defensive and closed to student questions. More dangerously, it conveys to students that someone can and does know "all the answers." It probably would be more useful to suggest that new answers may always be found if one can learn to look for oneself.

In such student-developed learning it is essential that time be set aside to revise and improve the processes of learning. Helping students to discover how they learn best is as important a goal as any. Furthermore, the teacher can use such reflection to help students organize so as to develop positive social relations which support their discovery tasks. The teacher committed to aiding student discovery may find different members of the class pursuing different approaches than the standard curriculum uses. Different students may be trying to discover different things in varied ways. If students are highly motivated by their own learning goals, as is usually the case in this approach, they maintain order themselves. However, youngsters involved in individual pursuits are unlikely to share their growth with one another without help. Therefore, the teacher must help youngsters work with each other and share in one another's discoveries.

THE TEACHER AS VALUE EXPLORER

An integrated class is often a place of confusion and conflict regarding moral values. Even the idea of integration challenges or offends some people's values and fulfills other's.

The teacher can help students explore their beliefs and values and see the relations between such values and behavior.

The school has traditionally dealt with value issues by denial and imposition. While appearing to take a neutral position on moral issues, it may fail to guide youngsters at all in their own exploration. Thus, school often seems to students to be a valueless world. Teachers who do deal with moral issues usually intend to teach the "right" positions on dress, behavior, sexuality, politics, drugs, etc. Intentionally or unintentionally, they may reinforce traditional community values by not allowing other opinions to be discussed or by defining alternatives as illegitimate. Effective exploration of values requires that the teacher help youngsters examine their own beliefs and anticipate the consequence for themselves and others.

This teaching role involves giving attention to specific and controversial issues, since moral inquiry and exploration cannot be effective when students consider the topics abstract or irrelevant. The teacher must be able to help youngsters specify their value choices and consider the reasons they make such choices. Students can be asked to give evidence to support their choices or beliefs and to decide what personal consequences can be predicted, what the consequences are for others, and on what grounds the consequences are desirable. Youngsters advocating unpopular or deviant values will need support from the teacher—not the support of agreement, but of listening and helpful questioning. The teacher must encourage group inquiry which focuses on learning about students' personal beliefs rather than on approving or disapproving of them. The teacher can provide this support directly and can help students provide it to one another.

A posture of exploration does not require the teacher to be neutral or nonpartisan. The teacher must express his or her own values at times or the entire process becomes unreal. Withholding value comments where they would be appropriate may indicate a teacher's desire to avoid confrontation with different views. Or, it may suggest fear that any expression of adult values would be so influential as to damage students' autonomy. The teacher who is sensitive to these issues should not worry overmuch. Students will not consider value statements as undue pressure if a genuine atmosphere has been established to explore, rather than to agree with or conform to certain convictions.

THE TEACHER AS CO-LEARNER

Many teachers look forward to an interracial classroom because they expect to learn from it. Unfortunately, few students know that they are and can be agents of their teacher's growth. Teachers can share teaching responsibilities with students and each can articulate what and how they may learn from one another.

The teacher might honestly discuss personal experiences with respect to becoming a professional, or some of the personal conflicts faced in attempting to support racial progress. If personal anecdotes are related in a spirit of hopelessness or pleading for sympathy, students will feel stranded and without support. But if the teacher's approach conveys that learning occurred from the experiences, students can apply the story to their own lives. Moreover, the teacher's sharing may enable students to feel more comfortable in discussing their own strengths and anxieties.

The reciprocal nature of teaching and learning is exemplified in this approach. The teacher may give class time to a student or students who want to "teach" or share their learning experiences with the class and may meet with them earlier to discuss teaching strategies. This may help students understand why the class is the way it is and how to use it more effectively as a learning environment.

Redefining the roles of students and teachers as just discussed may help them to overcome the status barriers that prevent collaboration in the educative process. Admitting to the role of learner in no way diminishes a teacher's professionalism. In fact, admission and acceptance enhances one's ability to be both teacher and learner. This role helps distribute responsibility for teaching to all members of the class, making all aware of the possibility of learning together.

THE TEACHER AS COMMUNITY AGENT

The success of school integration is partially determined by the reactions of persons outside the classroom. The teacher can plan educational programs for families, neighbors, and community leaders and organizations to involve them in supporting activities. The teacher can also teach youngsters how to cope with outside pressures antagonistic to their learning goals. The attempt to influence or teach the community through either of these strategies may be a new role for many teachers, although some have contributed to such efforts as private citizens.

Tensions which may arise from community pressures can be ameliorated

by classroom training applied in direct and relevant ways. To this end, the teacher may create models of the community and community pressures in class. Role playing and simulation programs may be very helpful in this regard. Students can learn about and work directly in community institutions and invite community leaders or parents into the classroom to observe and participate in activities and discussions.

Many of these roles are utilized simultaneously in class. The following chapters will suggest different ways of accommodating each role. The teacher's decision about which roles to emphasize is largely a matter of personal comfort and conviction and of student competence and preferences. Teachers' individual differences are as important as student differences. There are no "best ways" for all teachers and all class conditions, but any particular strategy may lead to a dead end. There are times when lack of student response to a lecture is not overcome by better lectures. Fulfilling student needs for engagement and dialogue may require at least a temporary shift to discovery or value exploration strategies. Similarly, there are times when students need to sit back and read or listen to lectures. The teacher who can shift styles to accommodate these needs can be responsive to dynamic processes in the classroom.

IV

Facilitating Positive Racial Relations: The Teacher's Role

An important dimension of the teacher's role is to facilitate interracial understanding among students of all groups. When students approach their peers of another race with initial suspicion and anxiety, perhaps even with curiosity, teachers should recognize how they can help alleviate anxiety or turn fascination into enduring collaboration and friendship.

Part of the teacher's success will depend upon the ability to detect individual and cultural differences which may deter or encourage friendships across ethnic lines. Perception of and ease with ethnic differences permit a teacher to acknowledge and accept them in the normal course of events. The teacher who categorizes some differences as inadequacies or pecularities unwittingly influences students to make negative judgments and to reject students whose ways are unlike their own. Teachers who encourage students to accept and cherish ethnic pluralism help build a strong foundation of mutual appreciation within which students of different races can relate to each other. Students need to feel comfortable and secure with the different styles of communication and social habits in their school before they are able to direct their energies into socially and academically meaningful ventures.

STUDENT EXPECTATIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD OTHER GROUPS

RECORD BAND #2:

(Interviewer) When are you friends with them, Pete?
(Student) When I'm alone because the other white kids don't kid me about liking a Negro, and also, I try to be nice to them when I'm alone because they, if I'm not nice to them, they can beat me up, and I don't have anyone else around to protect me.

This white youngster's reaction demonstrates three crucial factors affecting student attitudes toward racial peers. First, he explains what it is that makes him fear interracial contact (being beat up); second, he mentions a cultural difference with which he cannot cope (group strength); and third, he recognizes an outside pressure which leads him toward separation from blacks (white peers' disparagement of friendliness).

Students' expectations about interracial schooling have a strong effect upon their actions and reactions to one another. White students commonly feel resentful, scared, and angry about interracial education. Like the frightened white youngster above, they expect and are continually prepared for hostility. They may feel cheated, expecting the new students to occupy teachers' time that formerly belonged to them. Poor academic achievers often feel the most threatened by potential competition from Negroes. White youngsters who hold such negative expectations may be surprised by black students who dress "neatly" or do school work well. Anxiety and confusion over these conflicting feelings

may lead whites to try to avoid prolonged contact with blacks.

Black students, too, will have mixed reactions at the onset of desegregated schooling. Many expect condescension, discrimination, or rejection from whites. They frequently assume whites are unabashedly racist and antagonistic and will not change. Some blacks display these convictions by passively withdrawing from white activities into all-black groups within which they can easily relate. Often these groups shun white-dominated events and symbols and further alienation and misunderstanding follow. Whites tend to view black withdrawal as an indication that black students are not interested in the school. One southern white counselor recently stated:

> Blacks miss school more frequently than whites, and don't want to participate in our school activities.

A Negro girl at the same southern school reported quite different reasons for withdrawal:

> Some people sayin' that the Negroes, the black kids, don't go out for anything . . . so I went out for it . . . I knew I wouldn't get it . . . heck, I knew that!

To prevent stronger and more pervasive patterns of separation, the teacher must start early to dismantle or destroy barriers to interracial association. The students must develop positive experiences which can help them to overcome negative expectations. Learning how to recognize signs of student discrimination is a first step in this process.

RECOGNIZING DISCRIMINATORY BEHAVIOR

How to confront the traditional racial barriers to peer acceptance is often a problem for teachers. Various tactics are possible, depending upon the grade level of the class, the nature of the community, and the teacher's values. In all cases, the teacher must first diagnose and discover the racial attitudes of the students. These attitudes often correlate with social class; lower-class white students may feel a greater threat due to negative experiences with Negro youngsters in the past. Middle-class or upper-class white students whose personal interracial experiences are few and who have heard liberal rhetoric about Negroes may appear more positive at first. Lower-class blacks are sometimes suspicious of their middle-class peers who begin associating with whites, surveying them carefully to see if they support or reject black interests.

Many teachers and administrators claim that their students do not exhibit prejudicial behavior or that it is not visible to them. Discriminatory actions can be so subtle as to be invisible to anyone but a frightened child or adolescent. A group of 10-year-olds recently described what they view as discriminatory actions:

> Not wanting to hold hands with people of another race.
>
> If you don't like somebody you walk real fast past them.
>
> You don't have to hate 'em cause your friends do.

Teacher and student recognition of such exclusive behavior is half the battle in working for change. Bringing issues to the surface, making them part of the learning process, and encouraging students to explore the reasons why they "don't like somebody" are steps toward understanding why "you don't have to hate 'em." Young children with prejudiced beliefs will play with classmates of another race because they like them at that time. However, prejudices can slip out in name-calling or in derogatory comments which lead to periods of anger, unhappiness, and mistrust. The teacher can help integration by becoming sensitive to the spoken and unspoken expression of prejudice, even though it may not be displayed openly.

The teacher's diagnosis of racial feelings in class should examine behavior as well as attitudes. Student seating patterns are often cited as evidence concerning black-white relationships, perhaps because they are more easily observed than casual conversations or personal interracial encounters. A closer look undoubtedly will indicate peer pressures and other signs of fear and hostility.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

Cultural differences among students or between students and teachers frequently deter positive race relations in subtle ways. For instance, black and white students often differ in their definitions of "having fun" and "enjoying each others' company." There may be different preferences for music, conversational topics, and qualifications for being an attractive male or female as well as different ways of handling anger, aggression, and humor. Differences in styles of aggression, particularly, cause anxiety. Some youngsters express themselves with greater physical movement and communicate using bodily gestures and touch; others rely almost completely on words.

Blacks may engage in play which white, middle-class students consider destructive or threatening. Hostile expressions and angry gestures which would not threaten another black student might terrify a white student and convince him that he has just been challenged to fight. Wrestling

and playful boxing in which participants are careful about each other's safety may appear dangerous and uncontrolled to white students, who generally do not engage in such behavior unless they have lost their self-control. Typically restrained white, middle-class methods of expressing emotion are strange to blacks whose emotional expression is accompanied by strong changes in tone of voice, facial expression, bodily position, and gestures. Although these whites may be hiding their feelings behind words and abstractions, their lack of emotional expression may be as appropriate for their culture as is expressiveness among some blacks. Consequently, it may be difficult for members of different races to communicate their strong feelings accurately.

These differences are more common in schools with middle- to upper-middle-class whites and lower-middle or lower-class blacks. The misunderstandings are related to differences in social class more often than to race, but the predominance of minority group members in lower social classes obscures this fact. Whatever the racial and class mix of the school, the teacher must be prepared for cultural clash in the classroom.

The effects of cultural differences are likely to be negative when the school endorses some styles as absolute values rather than treating differences as a series of acceptable variations. Attempts to reinforce one style as a school position, with respect to fashion, social activities, or manners of expression, indicate to youngsters with different styles (usually to blacks or Chicanos) that the school does not respect their values. Apathy and withdrawal or anger and attack may be a consequence of students' feelings that they are battling an alien and rejecting institution. Rules against wearing exotic jewelry or sunglasses without prescriptions, which more often affect black students, have created such negative reactions. Principals or teachers who expect and require all students to behave in similar ways, regardless of the many personal, peer, family, and social pressures on them, repudiate democratic notions of pluralism.

The following discussion between a teacher and a visiting consultant illustrates a teacher's perspective on student styles. In this case, student-teacher differences had led to several painful confrontations in the classroom. The consultant draws out and confronts some of the teacher's underlying assumptions and fears:

RECORD BAND #3:

(Teacher) These kids came in, and one of them couldn't get in the door fast enough! You know how they all rush in the room so they can get to sit next to their friends. One of them said, "Goddammit, move out of the way, I've got to get into that class!" And I just didn't know what to do about it, I mean here are these kids learning these terrible things! And they just don't know how to speak with decency, and they're just—my goodness—he said "goddam" in front of all his friends! You'd think their parents would teach them something at home!

(Consultant) Wait a minute, wait a minute, calm down, calm down! Didn't you ever hear goddam before?

(Teacher) But these are children!

(Consultant) Are they different than adults? Did you ever say goddam?

(Teacher) Of course, but I'm an adult, and I know when to say goddam and when not to say goddam!

(Consultant) What did you do about it?

(Teacher) What would you do? I sent him down to the principal!

(Consultant) You sent him to the principal? Because he said goddam? Were these black kids?

(Teacher) Naturally.

(Consultant) I thought so, so really it's not the time and the goddam, it's the fact that they're black kids.

(Teacher) Well, white kids don't say things like this!

(Consultant) Ah, come on, white kids say things like this every day. I think you're just picking on the black kids because you don't like them. I think they scare you, Geraldine, I think they really scare you.

(Teacher) Well, they do in a way, but nevertheless they scare me for other reasons!

(Consultant) Well let's just stay with this for a few minutes. So the kid says goddam, which is something anybody might say, you . . . me . . . white kids . . . black kids, anybody, right? And you sent him to the principal.

(Teacher) What should I have done?

(Consultant) I guess I think I probably wouldn't have paid any attention to it. But *you* would, so in your case, that's what I'd do, I'd ask them not to use this language in this classroom. I get so damned angry at these teachers who get so uptight, and so excited, and upset over these kinds of things—these aren't important!

What should this teacher have done? Should the incident have been ig-

nored? Was the teacher overly "uptight?" How important was the student's use of "goddam"? Were there other ways of correcting, advising, punishing, or talking with the student? Is the consultant advocating irresponsibility? What is the teacher saying about her views of cultural differences?

PEER PRESSURES ON INTERRACIAL RELATIONS

Family and peer pressures often inhibit youngsters from making friends across racial lines. Under these circumstances expressions of friendship may be rare and intermittent. White students who display acts of friendship during the school day but who draw back from social interaction after school hours seem insincere to black students. Black students may question the degree of commitment a white student has to his friends of another race. For example, one black student reported his bewilderment:

> Like in our class, you see the same people everyday. We laugh at their jokes and everything, and then if you see them on the street, the same person that you have been joking with all day will look the other way and won't speak. This kind of bothers you. They will talk to you when you are by yourself, or with just a few people, but if you are in a group with some of their other friends around, they don't know you at all. That kind of thing makes you distrust their friendship at all.

Other white students may attempt to be friendly with minority-group students knowing they are violating norms of separatism within their own cultures. The consequences of friendship may be isolation by their own peers. Fearing such retaliation, whites may draw back from interaction with blacks.

For somewhat different reasons, black students may also face rejection for associating with whites. Some blacks feel that such association implies a negative attitude toward the black community and an attempt to be part of the white "establishment." Trapped by the problems of trying to destroy traditional barriers and interact freely with other students, youngsters quickly notice that peer pressure during desegregation can create either collaboration or separatism. One black student articulated some of the pressures her own friends placed on her in the desegregated setting:

> Some people think that because you want to go to an integrated school that you want to be white. I have heard a lot of people say this. When you get into a discussion with someone who is not going to an integrated school, or a heated argument when they can't think of anything else to say, they are going to bring up, "you think you are so good because you go to an integrated school; you think you are white." I found that you are never going to get around this. This is one of those things that you are going to have to accept!

Often these peer pressures are established or reinforced by school policy or the informal actions of teachers and principals. Some educators support and apply community values by discouraging or harassing interracial friendships, especially heterosexual ones. For integration to be successful, such student relationships must be accepted and supported by the school.

Peer separation is often most noticeable in voluntary seating and playing. Self-segregation in class or lunchroom upsets many teachers who are cautious and confused about their response to this natural situation. Certainly, black and white students will not learn as much from one another as they could if they associated. However, arbitrarily splitting up black and white groups in the classroom may create a new set of problems. Where blacks already feel estranged from whites, isolation from other blacks makes them feel even more vulnerable; that is, they have less support from their peers in situations which might require considerable peer reinforcement. Such support may be especially valued when there are only three or four black students in a predominately white class or when the classroom tone is negative and threatening to blacks, as this student indicates:

RECORD BAND #4:

> Oh, like the first day of school you go to class, and in a class of 30 people, there may be five blacks. And the teacher makes her own seating chart. She mixes you up with the white people. I mean, that gives you a feeling of being closed in, I don't know why. But if the five black people are together, it gives you a feeling of self-confidence. If you make a mistake or something, then they're with you, I mean you may be wrong, but at least they'll be by your side. But they just split you up then you feel all alone. This year my grades came up a little bit, but then I get so involved in racial matters, they go down again. Sometimes I get so I just can't study.

What can be done to support students' self-confidence and also to encourage racially mixed seating? In a supportive classroom atmosphere where black-white interactions are more likely to be friendly and collaborative, seating blacks and whites together may speed the process of developing positive interracial associ-

ations. An atmosphere in which students may be comfortable sitting next to students of another race and a milieu which accepts and supports individual differences will occur only when blacks no longer feel threatened by racial slurs. White students, too, are unlikely to sit next to blacks unless they are free from personal fears and concerns about rejection or retaliation from blacks or whites.

The topic of segregated classroom groups may be used by the teacher to begin a dialogue. If individual students are not free enough to discuss racial issues within the class, the solidarity provided by separate racial groups might support such confrontation. One racial group may discuss fears or concerns about the other group while their comments are recorded. The tape may then be played to the other group and if it seems appropriate, the groups may be brought together for discussion. It is not strange or cataclysmic for black and white youngsters to fear and avoid one another initially. This must be made clear to students. It also must be made clear that many old patterns of association can be overcome and that the class is a place where students can honestly admit their feelings and openly experiment with new roles. Of course this can only occur if the teacher has developed a classroom atmosphere that truly does permit it.

Most students will hesitate to offer signs of friendship to students of another race without encouragement by the teacher. Teachers deliberately should create opportunities for students to work together and to participate in activities which encourage friendship. It may be necessary for the teacher to pair black and white students in lunch lines or as room monitors. It may be necessary for the teacher to help students recognize signs of friendship or respond to subtle indications that one student cares for another even when the racial peer groups still function separately.

When black and white youngsters do begin to work together, to collaborate and enjoy their new relationships, they are frequently required to confront and overcome their familial or cultural history and traditions. They may resent the restrictions their school, parents, and society have placed on their choices and actions. The sudden rejection of advice from adults and former friends frequently causes guilt and tensions. More and more students are rejecting the traditions of their parents and community and forming new racial generational alliances inside and outside of the school. Whether they can sustain this growth in the face of societal pressure will depend in large part on how the school helps them.

It is not enough to be aware of peer and community pressures; they must be brought out in the open so that students may begin to understand, cope with, and perhaps change them. The teacher may be able to engage students in discussions about why these pressures exist and how to eliminate the inequitable situations which cause them to continue. Exploring the pressures that community groups have placed on institutions to support or resist desegregation can lead to discussions about adults' fears and actions in interracial situations. Students may then examine how desegregation can lead to integration, using examples from the school and classroom. Another focus for discussion might be the way peers pressure each other about interracial friendships; such exploration can lead to insights into the ways persons are influenced by those around them. The teacher can serve as a listener or counselor for individual students who are trying to move toward racial collaboration and invite and encourage them to seek such help.

MAINTAINING CLASSROOM ORDER

Since the administration of discipline seldom involves students in setting or executing standards for behavior, they often see discipline as arbitrary, discriminating, or punitive. Students generally object not to the need for maintaining order but to the criteria and process by which it is established. Students want to know and understand the rules and regulations which will govern their behavior during class time. Many also want a part in defining these rules. Therefore, early and mutual establishment of fair and meaningful standards is crucial for an effective and orderly classroom atmosphere.

Perhaps the most troublesome teacher-student relations occur within the context of classroom regulations. Many educators feel strict discipline is a prerequisite for social and academic learning, while many students are antagonized by the kind of order demanded by their teachers. Students often feel a strict atmosphere depresses their energies, works against enjoyable spontaneous relations with peers, and may reinforce arbitrary and petty indexes of "good" behavior. In some situations the teacher directly maintains order and disciplines students, inside or outside of the classroom. In other situations, the teacher's most effective disciplinary role is to help students regulate themselves. The harsh and inappropriate use of discipline undermines students' confidence and willingness to take risks toward academic and social growth. The key issue is how teachers can be flexible in their attempts to create order

while not permitting students to abuse one another.

It is probable that within a given classroom, no two organizing problems or deviant incidents are exactly alike. Discipline can be appropriate only when it recognizes the different backgrounds, levels of sophistication, and forms of cultural expression of various students. For instance, it is important to know when a playground squabble among students is caused by abusive language, physical threat and coercion, or a misunderstanding. A situation of racial slurs is handled differently from a situation of misunderstanding, and the type of corrective action should differ. A teacher should try to discuss with the class those incidents which often require staff intervention, not with the intent of humiliation but in a spirit of seeking to learn from errors why some words or acts are more abusive to whites than they are to blacks or vice versa, or how misunderstandings arise. Every act that challenges order springs from a student's need and has a purpose. Control of students may be of lower priority than the learning made possible by discussion and examination of key incidents or events.

Fair and equitable discipline and attention is a problem area in any classroom; in integrated classes it is even more pressing. Students' expectations of exploitation and teachers' fears of direct and open examination inhibit the development of racial collaboration. Overt prejudice or incompetence on the part of the teacher, whether due to racial bigotry or missionary zeal, makes fair treatment impossible. The following reports by two students illustrate their perceptions of some teacher styles:

RECORD BAND #5:

I had this one class, it was a social problems class, and there were about four black kids in it, and all the rest of the class, about 20 white kids in it. I had this ol' teacher, she thought of herself as the great white who was gonna help all blacks, and uh, we'd be talking along in class, you know, and the ol' girl in the front row would be listening to the record player, you know, and the ol' teacher would come over and put her arm around her and say, "You shouldn't do things like that in the classroom my dear," and then, I don't know, she was just all the time, you know, pointing the blacks out, you know, it made us whites more aware that there were black students in the class. And I don't know, seems like the black students always got better grades on tests and stuff than we did, I mean, you know, as an average. I don't know why, I guess when the black students started talking about something, you know, she'll build them up, you know, tell them what they're gonna say—so it sounds good in a way, you know, kind of help them along all the time. Well, like we got some really dumb white kids in our class, and they start talking along and the teacher just lets them bumble. Kind of makes us whites, you know, feel like the blacks are better than us, that she thinks they are, cause they deserve more attention cause they haven't gotten attention from other places. And man, I think they should just make it on their own, cause we all had to, we all had to work at it. She makes the blacks like her, I guess, by being nice to them, but she doesn't help the white students like her, and she doesn't help black-white relationships any, she makes the blacks unequal to the whites, in a way.

White students just think they're better than we are, just little things. For instance, I get out at 2:30 every day. So this teacher didn't believe me, and a student came around to ask me how come I got out at 2:30 and I *knew* that she had asked him to ask me, so I told him to go away and I was going back and she called out loud, "John, you told me a lie!" Then I started to walk away, and she said, "What's wrong?" and I said, "The same damn thing that's wrong with all you white teachers . . . you don't have to know where I'm going!" And I walked away, cause if I stayed there I wouldn't be in school now. She told one of the classes that she had no use for Negroes, and I told her, "We don't have any use for you all either."

As in these examples, leniency because of fear or compassion, or harshness because of hostility, destroys student respect for the teacher and the teacher's usefulness in developing students' abilities to work with and enjoy one another. Whites resent leniency towards blacks; blacks view such leniency as a sign of teacher fear or overprotectiveness. Blacks resent leniency shown to whites; whites often interpret it as permission to attack blacks. A double standard of teacher leniency when blacks fight with other blacks and harshness when blacks fight with whites will be easily detected and resented by blacks and whites alike.

Fair discipline does not necessarily mean that everyone receives the same punishment or reward for the same behavior. Norms and rules can be enforced equally and yet be much more harsh on students of one culture than on those of another. Rough play means different things to boys than to girls, and restrictions against it affect the sexes differently. Simi-

larly, strong restrictions against talking loudly and challenging teachers' decisions lead to different reactions from blacks and whites. Detention, too, has a different meaning for working students than for nonworking teenagers. Different traditions regarding the same behaviors might lead black students to believe that the system is racist and whites to feel it is fair. The use of narrow norms and rules in a multicultural classroom is both unwise and unprofessional.

We have suggested that students can be involved in setting standards and procedures for their own social standards and governance. When students do not know or agree to the legitimacy of certain rules, they are likely to see punishment as arbitrary or discriminatory. Harsh and ambiguous regulations, in particular, cannot be enforced consistently and thus must be quite arbitrary. It is unlikely that adults alone can maintain impartiality, enforcement, and appropriateness. At almost any grade level, students can help the teacher to increase the relevance and reduce the biases of orderly classroom behavior. They can create a classroom atmosphere that is orderly and supportive of learning. They can argue the merits and detriments of various standards of conduct and can sanction certain behaviors. If regulations are then transgressed, students may do their own regulating and self-governing rather than having these imposed from without. Self-regulation can occur only when students really have made their own rules, not when the teacher deceives them into thinking so or when they passively and unquestioningly accept traditional regulations.

Engaging students in rulemaking requires a commitment to teach about rules—their genesis, utility, and enforcement. Student involvement is particularly important when the teacher does not understand what certain rules or disciplinary procedures mean to students with different cultural backgrounds and living situations. However, simply because the class establishes rules for conduct at the beginning of the term does not mean that those regulations should be unimpeachable. As the year progresses, students and teachers may decide that a certain stricture is unreasonable, that it impedes rather than facilitates academic growth and good race relations, and that it is time to reevaluate the rules. As students of different races begin to understand and appreciate each others' personalities and backgrounds, they will be better able to make meaningful rules for their common guidance.

The maintenance of classroom order should be part of a learning experience, not a punitive act or a sequence that creates antipathy for school. Care must be taken to create a classroom atmosphere in which the student can accept discipline rather than feel compelled to reject the assumptions of discipline. The teacher should not permit a form of discipline which creates such shame and guilt that the student can no longer function effectively within the classroom.

STUDENT-TEACHER CONFRONTATIONS

All teachers should be ready for students to confront and openly challenge their racial postures. Initially students are likely to be skeptical of teachers of another race. This does not mean that teachers of the same race will escape surveillance, especially if students feel that their classmates are not being treated fairly. Teachers cannot expect to avoid racial confrontations simply by being white in a classroom with only a few black students, or vice versa.

Black teachers undoubtedly encounter different issues in the interracial classroom than do their white colleagues. Problems of favoritism are similar, although the direction may change. Moreover, black teachers will meet open opposition from white students as well as pressures from black students to "be black." These conflicting pressures can cause severe identity crises and strains for the black teacher unsure of his or her own stance on contemporary issues, especially for the black teacher who would prefer to "fade in" with the whites in the system. As an unequivocal representative of the white system, the white teacher avoids some of these pressures for self-identification.

Black or white students who are hostile or suspicious of a teacher will probably attempt to "test" him or her, to see to what degree fair procedures will be enforced. It is important for the teacher not to react rashly or hastily to such perfectly normal attempts. A test is usually an attempt to discover how honest a teacher has been and to what extent words will be supported by appropriate actions.

Some teachers overtly resent and oppose the initiation of interracial classes and act in deliberate or unconscious ways that frustrate quality integrated education. Their suspected or real favoritism often becomes the focus of interracial tensions as students perceive and resent the special treatment of students based on race. Several black students report this as follows:

> The discipline problems are wrong. They'll punish the Negroes greatly and let the white man get away with everything. And that's

not right. Now, a Negro will come into class, and he comes late, he gets an after school appointment, which is right because he has no business coming late. And then the white boy comes into class and don't get one, then that's not right.

Our English teacher would pass out equipment and pass over me. I would have to tell her that she didn't give me anything.

When a teacher's ambivalence or hesitancy is coupled with the heightened sensitivity of black students, the stage is set for serious conflict. Black students who hesitate to attack persons in the authority structure of the school may express their feelings of injustice by becoming angry with white peers. Thus, some interracial student fights may occur primarily as a result of an unfair or nonresponsive teaching-learning situation.

Not only do directly aggrieved students object to overt discrimination; sometimes students of different races cohere on such issues. One white Anglo-American girl related the following story of an action which she and other classmates felt was discriminatory and unfair, causing them to lose respect for their teacher:

Well, there was this Mexican-American girl in my 5th-period class, and the teacher, he would call roll every day in alphabetical order. This girl came late, usually, but if you were in your seat before your name was called, you weren't late. Well, he would always start with her name even though she was in the middle of the alphabet, and sometimes this would mean that she was tardy when according to *his* rules, she wouldn't be, because sometimes she would have had the time to get to her seat. We didn't like this, and we felt very sorry for her because he was always picking on her in ways like this.

Sooner or later many teachers will be charged with being racist, with discriminating or displaying favoritism. Sometimes, as in the example just given, these charges may be well-founded. Even when the charges are false the teacher must be prepared to deal with them. Students' suspicions and antagonisms will not be dissipated by denial or refusal to listen. An error is made and an opportunity lost when teachers respond to accusations with, "I'm not prejudiced. I don't see kids in terms of black and white." In the attempt to persuade the students rather than to investigate the causes of their concerns, teachers may give up an opportunity to engage in dialogue and to learn about the effects of their behaviors. Signs of favoritism can be very subtle. Perhaps a teacher who is somewhat tense when talking to blacks will smile less and appear to them to be deliberately unfriendly. The tendency to be extra-lenient with some students is another example and is resented by favored and unfavored groups alike. Real fairness demands a cultural sophistication sufficient to adapt regulations, discipline, and curriculum to differing interests. Students will not reject teachers because of their discovery or admission of confusion in a new situation. But unwillingness to discuss these problems and to listen to what students have to say may be an indication of a teacher's inability to be comfortably effective in an interracial classroom.

FEEDBACK AND EVALUATION

All teachers need adequate information about the effects of their behavior in the classroom. The complexities and subtleties of the integrated classroom only make this generic need more potent. Teachers who solicit rapid, constant, and honest feedback from students can detect their own and others' problems early. A crucial step in generating useful student feedback is to ensure its honesty; in a class without trust one cannot expect students to be open in their evaluations of the teacher, the instructional process, or the curriculum. Even in a relatively trusting class, precautions may be taken to ensure student anonymity to guarantee that no personal reprisal can possibly occur.

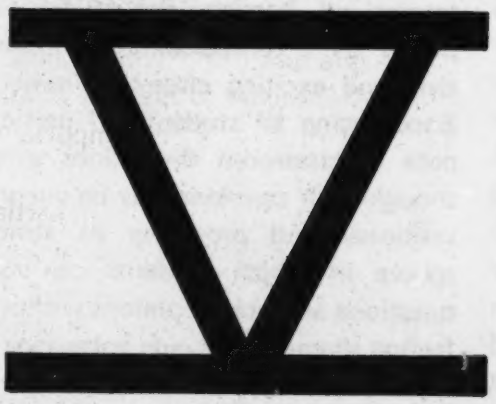
The teacher should encourage specificity for useful student feedback. "You are a good (bad) teacher" doesn't provide any information about what behaviors the teacher might maintain or change. "I don't like it when you avoid a question rather than say you don't know" is much more specific. "When students say they don't understand, she always breaks the problem down into smaller steps to try and make it clear" is a positive feedback which allows the teacher to become clearer about what behaviors are important.

Inquiries presented in an impartial manner and open uncritical acceptance of student feedback will demonstrate the teacher's interest in learning from the class and will draw out more useful information. The teacher also should avoid reacting defensively to assumptions about his or her intentions. Student reactions which assume that the teacher has some evil purpose may cause hurt feelings or confusion and lead to a defensive denial of evil motives or intentions without investigation into possible reasons for this perception. For example, "You just want to come here and earn a buck" is different from "You don't show that you respect us." The first statement may be inferred from some behavior such as a low level of energy in the classroom. However, the teacher may be

dejected, feeling unable to teach effectively, or thinking this class won't respond. To generate useful information from such feedback, the teacher needs self-discipline. "I don't believe I feel that way, but I need to know why you think I do," is one beginning.

Finally it is crucial that the feedback be used, and that students see it being used. If there are no changes, nor any evidence that some changes are considered, students see no point in going through the motions of being honest and helpful.

The rules for a teacher's feedback to students are the same. The detrimental effects of vague generalities, dishonesty in the name of protection, or assumptions about negative motivation are just as pervasive for students as for teachers.



Academic Instruction: The Teacher's Role

While the primary purpose of academic instruction in the interracial classroom is the attainment of quality education for all students, the interracial situation can and should have more specific and immediate objectives. An important goal is the understanding and acceptance of people with diverse styles, beliefs, and interests. Attaining this goal requires the teacher to learn new patterns for working with students from different backgrounds. Subject matter is needed which will help the students develop confidence and strength to learn and collaborate with people of different races and cultures.

Teaching an interracial class can be an exciting challenge for any creative teacher. As the demand for relevant academic information grows, classrooms can become laboratories in which students and teachers experiment with different styles of living and learning to meet the needs and challenges of integration.

STUDENTS' ACADEMIC EXPECTATIONS

Most black and white students enter school with high aspirations for achievement and success. However, blacks and browns often bring with them a background of alleged failure, inferior education, and indifferent or hostile school experiences. Many minority students are skeptical of desegregated schools and of the motives and commitment of teachers and officials. Others are apathetic toward a system which failed them previously and do not expect better conditions when they reach desegregated schools. Unless there are help and encouragement from teachers and school officials, pain from unfulfilled hopes and poor performance deflates aspirations and skepticism and apathy become antipathy.

When black students enter formerly all-white schools, they generally expect better teaching and facilities partly because their parents often believe that students in black schools are cheated. Parents of black students transferring to desegregated southern schools have argued:

> We wanted to transfer because the Negro school is 100 percent no good. It does not even have the necessary equipment to be called a school. Still has little huts out in the back.
>
> We transferred because of the school and the principal. He hires and fires teachers every year; he never lets them stay here long enough to teach the children.

The prospect of going to a better school arouses concerns and anxieties about students' own competence and ability to compete. Negro students who fear they may be scholastically inadequate underestimate their potential. In a study of southern school desegregation, black students were asked, "Before changing schools *did you think* the white students would be smarter?" Sixty-three percent answered "yes." When asked, "*Are* they smarter than you?" only 22 percent unequivocally said "yes." Thus, upon entering a desegregated school, more than half of the black respondents believed that they were already intellectually inferior; many later changed their minds as they met and worked with white students. Even black students who came into desegregated situations with poor academic skills found they were not as "disadvantaged" as they had thought. However, their feelings, attitudes, and fears came into the school with them and shaped their expectations about the school and their chances for success. The destruction of fantasies of gross inferiority is one of the most important contributions of integration.

In contrast, affluent whites who show confidence and evidence of academic success often enter desegregated schools expecting black students to be scholastically inferior, and they behave in ways consistent with low expectations for intellectual interaction with blacks. Some white students anticipate that the school work will be easier and, conse-

quently, that their academic progress will be slower. Lower-class white students or whites with poor academic records may view blacks as a threat to their own scholastic standing, fearing that the black students will succeed while they fail. Parents and the news media generally lead white students to believe that black students do not make significant contributions to the learning process.

Teachers expecting poor performance may not draw upon the resources of black students. Unable to see different kinds of strengths and needs among the blacks, the teacher in the following example plans to continue with the same course of study followed before desegregation. Her fear and inability to deal with interracial differences in the class are disguised as democracy.

RECORD BAND #6:

> Well, at first I had all these kinds of fears about what to do when you had black kids in the class for the first time. I mean I've never taught black kids, and I didn't know what to expect of them, or how they would react with the other kids, and so I thought I perhaps would change my lesson plans, my studies. And then I came to the conclusion: No, why should I do that, this is a democratic society, it's a democratic school, and I recognize that some of them came into the classroom with limitations.

The assumption that black students' problems are due to intellectual deficiencies places the burden of failure on the students rather than on the schools. The same attitude is taken toward lower-class black students who make poor adjustments to school; their difficulties are often attributed to aspects of family life popularly deemed inappropriate for school success. However, much of the difficulty actually stems from the school's inability to instruct students with different cultural backgrounds and learning styles.

Teachers' expectations strongly influence students' ability to learn. Those who believe blacks have "limitations" or are slow learners communicate these beliefs in their expressions and gestures. Assuming that a child cannot learn and making him aware of that assumption may convince the child that he is a poor learner. It is important for white and black teachers to recognize their own racial biases and assumptions about learning abilities as a means of understanding how they influence students academically.

It is common for black students who are a small minority of an interracial class to feel lonely and isolated. Sometimes they fear that if they object to class material or interpretations on racial grounds, their statements will be laughed at or rejected. They frequently are afraid to express their personal reactions in class, anticipating ridicule, rejection, or attack. In return, bellicosity as a form of self-defense is interpreted and treated as defiance. The teacher must be sensitive to the feelings of black and white students in order to handle such incidents.

Problems in interpersonal and political relations among students also influence academic achievement. Playground fights, elections of student leaders, choices for membership in activity groups may lead to interracial bitterness which carries over into the classroom and inhibits learning. Black and white students may have different reactions to the implications of the learning material, to the teacher's methods, and to the type of academic analysis and examination expected of them. An angry response to one of these, if expressed as a refusal to volunteer or hostile withdrawal, may be mistaken for stupidity or defiance.

A thorough and detailed diagnosis of various students' backgrounds and current academic situations will give the teacher: (1) an understanding of the academic goals and needs of each student; (2) a personal knowledge of the dynamics within the class; (3) an understanding of the problems and obstacles, strengths and resources inherent in the situation; and (4) knowledge of how the teacher might help realize the desired goals.

ENCOURAGING STUDENT INCENTIVE

One of the teacher's tasks in encouraging student incentive is to reduce or eliminate barriers to learning. Interpersonal barriers should be replaced by a compassionate, supportive, and exciting classroom milieu. Encouraging all students to participate in classroom discussions even though their opinions may be unconventional and providing an atmosphere in which students can ask questions and state opinions without feeling shame or ridicule encourage a high quality of academic performance.

Black and white students may learn to be more honest with one another through sharing feelings and experiences. These may include their reactions to meeting and relating to persons of another race. They may discover that reactions are based on their personal impressions, previous experiences, outside pressures, and inner fears. Miss Goodman found that black students in her class thought that discrimination had increased, while white students thought that things were getting better for Negroes. She presented these

reactions to the class and asked the students to discuss the reasons for these different perceptions of racial progress. Some of the whites said that blacks could now live in the new public housing project buildings which had modern conveniences. Miss Goodman encouraged the black students to discuss how they felt about living in the new buildings. Numerous comments led to the discoveries that some of the blacks now lived in the new buildings because the government had condemned their former homes to make room for an interstate highway, they had to move away from their friends and familiar surroundings, and there was no place to play in the new housing projects because the playground was always too crowded and the streets were too dangerous. Miss Goodman used this example of racial and economic bias in government planning as a later focal point in further discussions.

If only "right" answers are accepted, many students may lose motivation to speak honestly or may withhold their comments and suggestions for fear of punishment or ridicule from either the teacher or students. If Miss Goodman's black students had been inhibited in this way, they might never have mentioned their anger at being forced to move and their frustration with the crowded living conditions. One student described his negative reactions to what he felt was an erroneous presentation:

RECORD BAND #7:

> In class you don't feel free to discuss. You start talking about race relations and problems in the ghetto, and you read this stuff and it's written by white men, and you know he doesn't know anything about the ghetto . . . he's never been there, only what his data has shown, that's all he knows. And you read about this stuff in a book and you can't learn it, you really can't learn it because you know it's not true. You know it's a blah to learn it.

If direction and rewards come only from the teacher, students often cannot see themselves as independent of this lawgiver. When the teacher is the focal point of the students' classroom experience, they seldom develop their own incentives simply because they are not encouraged to do so. When the teacher develops various models for motivation that are not based entirely on the smile or frown of one purported authority, students can learn from each other and grow according to their own styles and paces.

Incentive and motivation are also affected by students' belief in the teacher's desire and ability to make the classroom experience useful to them. For the teacher who strives to be fair and to demonstrate concern, the emotional task of communicating to students is as vital as the technical tasks of teaching subject matter. Beginning with the recognition that each action has some effect on the students' level of motivation, the teacher can systematically analyze the types of behavior which may inhibit students and then develop ways to discover and use forces which will motivate students toward academic achievement.

Ignorance about certain subjects is not necessarily evidence that students are poorly prepared or unable to learn. Teachers must help to bridge the gap between ability and performance by translating academic material into terms and issues relevant to students' experiences and learning goals. The differences between experiences of black students and some of their teachers make this task difficult, as portrayed in the following record band:

RECORD BAND #8:

> I'm in a real dilemma. I want to teach at the best level I can and to have everybody to come away or grasp something at the end of the semester, and you want to gear your courses to the highest students. Then you've got these kids in there that are so unfamiliar with the stuff and who are not familiar with writing compositions in the style that we demand, whose level of competence is not equal to the students who have been enrolled in the school. I'm not saying that all black students are stupid, or they're not as good as the other kids, but what do you do when the kids don't know anything about the *Grapes of Wrath*?

It is unlikely that students will discover meaning in the *Grapes of Wrath* unless they can relate to an experience in the novel which is meaningful to them. What would you advise this teacher to do now? What alternatives do you see in teaching American literature?

We asked Miss Goodman these two questions. She thought that the black students may have lacked interest because *Grapes of Wrath* deals with white hunger and dislocation during a depression. Black students see hunger and dislocation for many Negroes as a contrast to contemporary affluence for many whites. She suggested beginning with writers familiar to black students, or with whom they can identify, like Malcolm X or Claude Brown. She believed that the blacks would be motivated to discuss these authors and that students would feel comfortable knowing the teacher cared enough to assign them. Later discussions could extend to poverty in a historic perspective and to exploration of other authors.

All students do not learn at the same pace; neither do they all have the same sources of motivation. While some students come into school with sufficient motivation, others need the encouragement and warm guidance of the teacher to discover and support their special interests. The teacher should be cautious about publicly stating that students who are not listening obviously aren't interested in learning, for such verbal reprimands are embarrassing. They are perceived as punishment in front of one's peers and as an indication that the teacher does not care. Motivation is not created through force and fear, but outward compliance and suppressed resentment are. The teacher who helps each child act on his own motivation to learn will send many youngsters to libraries and on field trips in search of ideas and skills seldom developed by the typical curriculum.

Interpreting democracy as trying to treat all children the same means ignoring the special problems or talents of individual students. Spending more time with slow students or devoting more attention to developing special interests is probably less damaging to the class than ignoring the needs of individual students. Black students who have come from impoverished schools may hesitate to request additional help. Teachers who confront students with their inadequacies and then offer help are often surprised when the offer is rejected. Students who reject such offers may recognize their shortcomings, but will try to work out their problems themselves rather than proclaim them publicly and be ashamed. Thus, teachers who can devote special energy to some students will have to offer assistance in ways that recognize individual sensitivities and the psychological dynamics of accepting help.

WORKING WITH DIFFERENCES IN ABILITY

Educators are becoming aware that homogeneous groupings by ability are not the most successful way to provide quality education. When the school is desegregated, this procedure becomes even more dangerous. First, it has been demonstrated that standard educational testing devices do not provide an accurate measure or indication of black students' abilities and potentials. Second, test scores can be distorted when the tests are administered by a white adult to a frightened black youngster. Third, this procedure locks youngsters into groups based on past performance, not on promise for the future. Grouping by test-scored ability tends to segregate blacks and whites, to place blacks in lower tracks, and consequently, to put an unnecessary stigma on black students. It tends to decrease their morale and to create segregated classes within a desegregated school. In several school systems where groupings on the basis of traditional tests have led to resegregation, the administration is abolishing grouping and moving toward individualized instruction. Essentially, these schools are trying to find ways of using the diversity in student ability as a resource for other students' learning. They attempt to show students how to help each other learn and grow from a tutor-pupil relationship. Some studies of elementary as well as secondary school children have indicated that this tutorial process benefits tutor as much as pupils.

One white elementary school teacher indicated the ways young children of different cultures are learning from one another:

> I think integration helped students because they learned from each other. The Negro students know some things the white students don't know. And they can teach each other more by talking than the teachers can. I think the most outstanding thing about what the children know and don't know is that the Negro children can tell you a lot more about the value of money than most of the white children can. Most of these children are self-reliant as far as going and coming. They have been to the store. Their mothers leave them sometimes by themselves to stay until they get home from work. I think the white children are probably a little overprotected as far as these areas are concerned, and they get self-confidence from the other children by realizing that children their age can do things like that. And they find out about this as they just talk about it. The Negro children seem to know a lot more games to play that they've made up. As far as the white children, I find they transfer back the use of books to the Negroes. The white children want to read the books, and they help the Negro children with them. I think this is useful.

This teacher helped the students in her class to act as resources for one another. She encouraged the growth of students as they taught their peers things they knew and helped each other develop new skills.

Other systems are using team teaching and teachers' aides to facilitate working with heterogeneous groups. The presence of additional teachers in the classroom not only permits work with specific students who may be missing material, but it provides the opportunity for the teacher to collaborate with peers or new colleagues to ascertain and observe different styles of working with students.

RACE AS CURRICULUM

"What to teach" is often an arbitrary decision made at a distant level in the administrative hierarchy. However, within any unit, subject, or text, teachers are the means of encouraging creativity and maintaining relevance. If a school system demands a standard textbook, the teacher should add facts or comparisons that make the material relevant to contemporary events and racial issues. When the text itself tends to reinforce stereotypes and misconceptions, the teacher should discard, correct, or add to it.

Where teachers have some latitude in deciding what to teach, it might be profitable to ask the students what they want to do, what kinds of problems they want to tackle, what authors they want to read, or what areas they want to know more about. In addition to the special projects that teachers want to teach, they can and should continue to renovate traditional subjects. This often means making a concerted effort to begin including those kinds of information which were previously neglected; namely, the experiences of minority groups, the negative as well as the positive aspects of society, and the relevant uses of education in attaining future goals.

Many school systems already have begun restructuring the curriculum to include information relevant to racism and minority groups. The role played by various minority groups in this and other countries, and other information which members of that group need in order to succeed in contemporary American society, are included in these studies. In teaching black history or black literature, use of primary sources is a necessity. Many feelings of blacks, such as Malcolm X's anger, can be successfully recaptured only from books by a black author. Just as Robert Frost and Carl Sandburg had something unique to say, so did James Weldon Johnson and Langston Hughes. The success with which these men's attitudes and feelings can be lifted from literature and related to current topics of importance may make the difference between a class of active learners and one of passive listeners. School systems which have introduced meaningful black studies programs have found the motivation and excitement of most black students greatly increased. Many white students, too, have been impressed by and involved in this new curriculum. One white student in a northern junior high school noted how her interest in black literature grew when she entered an interracial class:

> Before we had black students here, it was just plain old literature. Now, the blacks make different comments about the books. They see stuff that I never thought about before. It's better that way. I'm anxious to read more black poets now. It was really an eye opener.

Classroom discussions of ethnic history and literature can prepare students to understand the period of crisis in which we are now living. It provides a basis of comparison from which to plan future involvement in society. Differences between integrationist and separatist Negroes and the differences between Black Panthers and Black Muslims are part of the stream of Afro-American history. Much of what was relevant in the debates between Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. DuBois or William Lloyd Garrison and John C. Calhoun is still important today.

Another important reason for discussing minority groups in class is to help minority groups find their own place in the academic setting. Studying about one's heritage, and having peers study it too, provides a public opportunity for pride. The attempt to push differences under the rug, or to teach in ways irrelevant to contemporary life leads different groups to become bored with learning and uninterested in learning about each other. The school cannot utilize group differences without openly and honestly confronting some of the problems that these differences create. Educators cannot hide behind the deception that all American culture is the same. They cannot avoid dealing with current racial feelings of confusion, anxiety, and anger. Moreover, hostile outbursts will occur in a class where teacher and students lack experience in discussing differences and dealing with conflicts. These issues usually must be dealt with sooner or later—and the sooner the better.

Making race an integral part of the curriculum requires more imagination, flexibility, and spontaneity than correcting erroneous stereotypes or omissions in textbooks. It involves teaching and learning about racial or cultural differences and how they affect daily patterns of living. Some teachers approach the topic through the study of foreign cultures to provide a neutral, objective focus. Others rely on the numerous racial incidents in the news media or in the class to open up discussions which focus on how one feels and reacts to racial issues. Some schools plan retreats where students, faculty, and administration spend the entire weekend together and talk about race in interracial groups. These approaches are discussed in more detail later.

Some educators believe that, by studying cultures of Indians or Eskimos, students can learn that customs

and practices may differ from their own yet be very important to the group studied. An elementary teacher reports how such a program worked in her school:

RECORD BAND #9:

> In our school, we have this third culture program where kids are exposed to a different form of life, different anthropological ways of living. My second grade class saw a movie where an Eskimo gave his son a fish eye. At first the kids said that was terrible and bloody, but then one little boy said, "You know? You can really tell that the father loves his son, because he kept giving him the fish eye, and it really must be a treat. I guess he must love his son very much." Then we talked about how different cultures display different emotions like love, anger, hate, pleasure, and disappointment.

The students saw how these groups demonstrated affection, anger, or joy, and observed differences in family and societal structures and in roles and responsibilities. Learning the ways ethnic groups differ provided a basis for discussing some of their own differences in class. After inhibitions and fears passed, students could feel comfortable discussing how they as blacks, middle-class whites, Puerto Ricans, Italians, or Jews do things in their homes and communities.

Realistic material should be used rather than books which rely upon stereotypes or quaint and irrelevant customs, and students' comments about the differences in their experiences as compared to the foreign culture should be encouraged. While discussing the habits and heritage of others, students have the opportunity to draw comparisons among themselves. They may think about the customs and ideas they may have previously taken for granted; they may gain a greater appreciation for some parts of their culture or reject others; they may develop an understanding of their relationship to other ethnic groups and a firmer basis for understanding their cultural and national identity. Many schools use foreign culture studies without relating the foreign culture to the students' own cultures. Junior and senior high teachers probably will feel more comfortable teaching about culture and cultural differences without discussing a different, neutral group. With these age groups, the teacher can ask how and why cultural differences are maintained. Discussions may bring out the types of misunderstanding which may occur when policymakers do not consider the importance of certain customs to particular ethnic groups.

Teachers who utilize differences within the classroom are, essentially, doing with existing resources what many school systems attempt to do in foreign exchange programs—learning about others as a means of increasing understanding. One way to use class resources is to rely on students to help present material and information about their own culture. Students' responsibility for teaching peers often creates new enthusiasm for becoming more active in the learning process. Students may explain their customs, laws, and practices as compared to those presented in text materials. If the class is going to discuss nutrition or compare religious beliefs, an Indian child may be able to discuss Indian dietary practices or the religious beliefs related to dietary customs. The important issues of what and how to teach any given class should be resolved partially by the particular human resources available within it. The imaginative use of students, parents, or community members as new vehicles for teaching and learning may spark enthusiasms and tap sources of knowledge more deeply. More than likely, students will need some help in preparing to present material to the class or lead class discussions. Assistance may range from gentle encouragement to advice about possible research field trips. It is important to make sure that physical and material resources are conveniently available to the enthusiastic student.

Casual remarks within the classroom sometimes provide an opening for discussion. In the following example, an elementary school teacher relates how an observation from nature led to understanding:

> Another time a child noticed that a cat can give birth to kittens, and that some of them have different colors and markings. Then someone wanted to compare skin colors. So we sat in a circle and everyone put his arms next to the next person's arm, and found out that everyone was a different color. I've got an albino kid in class that's pure white, and we talked about what makes a kid this way, and the problem they have with going out into the sun. And then I have another Negro child who is even lighter than me, but he thinks of himself as black. Then one kid said, "We're all different colors, but I guess it makes no difference what color you are, but what color you *think* you are."

At times, teachers' attempts to deal with racial issues may be inappropriate and students may resist. The resistance itself may become another possibility for inquiry if the teacher stops and asks, "Why is it difficult for us to do this?" The most important learning may be how students feel.

In most classes it is common to read about and discuss the ideals of American institutions. But a discussion of ideals without attention to the realities of these institutions does not show students what is currently happening and how they can participate. Pointing out racial and other problems in society is much more realistic than talking only about what should be and ignoring problems in an effort to avoid controversy. Contemporary examples of racial conflict are plentiful enough. A unit on ways to influence the political process at local, State, and national levels might provide a realistic focus for the traditional social studies. When an individual with a grievance learns what he can do about it, he begins to see that power can emerge from knowledge.

Application for jobs and college is a relevant topic for many students who rely on public high schools to prepare them for employment or advanced education. If attention to school courses and attendance brought the same social and economic opportunities for blacks as for whites, black incentive in school would probably increase. It is hypocritical for a school system to urge completion of high school without working to make the economic and other rewards of high school graduation a reality for all. Black students are aware of the racial inequity of the job market for high school graduates, and their academic incentive is frequently depressed by this factor. Consequently, it might be useful to discuss political activities that might increase the value of the high school degree. Students may prepare special reports on personal experiences of subtle discrimination, flagrant racism, or racial incompatibilities which have influenced people's life choices. They may study how discrimination affects economics, education, and social interaction, "our role in eliminating racial discrimination in the civil service," "racism in this school and community," "the role of the Federal Government in local race relations," etc. Some may want to interview and study a local human relations council or research the ethnic composition of voting precincts. An indefinite variety of community-related topics can be developed. After the projects are completed, they can be used as a basis for a teaching unit on race relations.

Learning may also occur through confrontation. Some schools have sponsored or supported interracial weekend retreats where individuals may discuss issues that rarely surface: fears and anxieties about greeting or not greeting a person of another race, the moral conflict of a person who feels prejudiced but doesn't want to be, or the meaning of black anger and white hurt. Students may experience strong emotions on these occasions by encountering closeness or intimacy or by being confronted with the difference between what they think they believe and the perceptions others have of their behavior.

Role playing is another method for dealing with racial feelings in class. Different students can assume the "roles" of those of another race or the role of teacher, principal, parent, or some other person encountered outside the classroom. They can act out on the "stage" what a white or black parent feels and does when his or her son wants to date a girl of another race, what a black parent feels and does when his or her child is not permitted to associate with whites after school, etc. Another alternative with younger students is to pick a group which looks different from the others, perhaps all those with blond hair, all those under a certain height, all those of one race, or all of those whose last names end with a certain letter of the alphabet. The group which was chosen on this basis may not speak unless spoken to first, must always walk by themselves, must be the last out of the room, and cannot sit with the other students for a given length of time, perhaps a week. If this is done, it is important that all students clearly understand and agree to the "experiment" so that particularly sensitive youngsters do not feel exploited and the action is not interpreted as practice in discriminatory behavior.

Many of these curriculum suggestions venture into "controversial" areas. Developing successful programs in the face of potential community resistance depends not only on the individual teacher's courage and skill, but on support from other teachers, the principal, and students. The entire school must sooner or later commit itself to work effectively on similar issues with all students and parents.

VI

The Roles of the School Principal

The principal's behavior and attitudes and the extent of support from school administrators and community members are critical factors affecting the success or failure of integration. The principal's responsibilities and influence extend beyond

the school; he will be required to work well with community members and other administrators as well as with students and staff. While the principal's roles with different groups may overlap, different styles and emphases stem from interaction with different audiences and various traditions of executive leadership. It may be useful to consider these alternative roles and their possible implications for the school's strategy for attaining racial integration.

THE PRINCIPAL AS BUREAUCRATIC OFFICIAL

Many principals constantly feel conflicting pressures from teachers' demands upon the principal to perform tasks supportive to them, student requests for audiences, community concerns for attention and understanding, and senior administrative directives. Many principals deal with these demands in a traditionally bureaucratic fashion, investing in the smooth and orderly operation of a building that organizes and regulates teacher and student behavior. They may see their job as administrative management rather than the development of educational resources or direct contribution to youngsters' learning.

Although the principal who stays clear of the instructional process may have more time and energy to provide managerial and administrative support for the staff, freeing teachers and students to do their own jobs better, this limited role deprives students and teachers of the principal's educational resources. Typically bureaucratic limits on student or teacher access to the principal and strict reliance upon rules for management may seriously hamper the flexibility which permits a creative and relevant educational apparatus. Teachers and principals who are personally distant from one another, especially in a small school, more easily become alienated and noncollaborative.

THE PRINCIPAL AS ORGANIZER OF STAFF RESOURCES

The principal who recognizes that integration requires the full resources of all members of the profession will work at utilizing them as fully as possible in the making of school policy decisions, in contrast to the more common practice of simply announcing to staff members the policies they are to implement.

Helping the staff become a cohesive and supportive group is a component of this role. Recognizing and cherishing the differences in individual styles among teachers, the principal can encourage sharing these differences and invite teachers to be more directly helpful to one another in developing instructional activities.

Establishing a supportive and creative staff environment may be difficult if this goal is viewed as a threat to autonomous professional behavior and if teachers would rather keep their classroom ideas and judgments on school policy to themselves. The attempt may displease staff members who prefer to leave school promptly when classes are over, because time must be allowed for teachers to work together as a team. However, it may be worth the extra effort and time to achieve better patterns of utilization of staff resources and a team of staff members who can pull together to support one another and the principal when the going gets rough.

THE PRINCIPAL AS TEACHER

One of the principal's potential roles is that of helping to improve teachers' classroom performance, the role of a teacher of teachers. The principal who has been an expert or master teacher before assuming administrative duties may have a great deal to offer individual teachers. The principal may visit classrooms to observe instructional patterns and the reactions of students. Because the potential threat of such visits is diminished when it is clear the principal desires to help, not control, the principal's attempt to share or give feedback about the classroom experiences must be specific, free from accusation, and helpful to the teacher. A judgmental or righteous approach invites a defensive and closed response to new information. If the principal is able to give direct and honest feedback without appearing to be harsh, the teacher is more likely to hear the information being shared.

Principals who are not expert teachers would be ill-advised to pretend to be so. However, they can still support innovations and attempt to reduce the racial anxieties and concerns which trouble individual teachers. Encouraging discussions, providing material or consultant resources, and relieving teachers of onerous clerical duties may be more useful ways for these principals to help their instructional staff.

THE PRINCIPAL AS PROFESSIONAL LEADER

As an extension of their work with individual teachers, some principals would like to serve as consultants or developers of staff members' professional skills. With this goal, they structure staff meeting time for the consideration and elaboration of professional techniques and methods. A comprehensive inservice program may be provided to extend staff members' skills, using guest speakers, films, books, and other resources.

This role could take a substantial share of the principal's time and

energy. However, when the principal customarily involves staff members in making school policy, the resources for this task are multiplied and time becomes available for activities like professional development. At that time it is appropriate for staff meetings to focus on development of teachers' professional resources rather than on routine administrative decisions and messages.

THE PRINCIPAL AS TEACHER OF STUDENTS

There is disagreement among principals as to their proper role with students. Many believe it is best to be personally distant from the students, to support students' relationships with teachers and other staff members, and to work directly with students only in cases of political or managerial crisis. Other principals seek interaction with students and attempt to relate to them as teachers or managers. To be accessible to students, open to statements of their needs, and responsive to their desires and grievances is essential to wise management of human resources and to instructional leadership. The way in which a principal combines the roles of political manager and professional leader communicates to students the school's political and educational goals. If the principal's relationship with students is primarily marked by concern about control and conformity, students will treat the school as a political bureaucracy that has no particular interest in adjudicating or responding to their needs and concerns. To the extent that administrative reactions are guided by concern about student resources and responses and a desire to help provide the best climate for learning, students may trust the professional skills and judgment of principals and teachers. Students learn from all their experiences with the principal, whether or not he consciously chooses to emphasize and utilize his role as teacher.

THE PRINCIPAL AS COMMUNITY ORGANIZER

Traditional patterns of distance between school and community are no longer tenable in desegregated and integrated settings. Integration in school is unlikely unless the community eventually supports interracial association in and out of school. It is useful, then, for principals to accept a role of teaching and organizing local community resources in support of integration. They may make speeches, lead community organizations, and attempt to influence and educate parents and community groups to support integration efforts within the school building and the classroom. The principal should do more than interpret school policy; he has a responsibility to build support in the community for school efforts.

THE PRINCIPAL AS CHANGE AGENT IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The capacity for change in a school may be seriously limited by the school system. Some principals are willing to accept administrative limitations and attempt to work within them. Others feel that local freedom depends upon their ability to rearrange or change characteristics of the larger system in which they work. The role of agent for change in the school system is becoming a more and more attractive one to school principals. Some choose to identify, agree with, and champion the interests of students, teachers, and community groups even when they are in conflict with board of education policy. While disagreement with system policy and the attempt to mobilize school and community resources to combat the policy may indicate disloyalty to one's employer, it may just as well be an expression of great commitment to the interests of one's clients and staff. Where there are legitimate conflicts of interest between political leaders of the school system and those who should be served by it, the principal can work appropriately on either side of that conflict; he cannot stand in the middle, watch passively, or disclaim responsibility.

Not surprisingly, the role of change agent carries with it considerable risk. The principal may be attacked and punished as an agitator or troublemaker. If substantial and stable support has been won from the power structure in the school and community, political punishment can be met by further political resistance. But the principal who has been naive or unable to build such support should be prepared to transfer to a different position. Creative leaders must be willing to take such risks in the midst of pressures and changes created by school integration.

THE PRINCIPAL AS RACIAL EXAMPLE

The principal's race and actions on racial matters influence reactions and expectations of everyone in the school. A white principal who has an all-white staff or one or two token Negro teachers presents an example of failure to overcome the legacy of American racism. A black student reported:

> Before they integrated the school, there were two principals. One of them has got to be head. You know what happens, the white principal gets it. And it's the same thing in the athletic department. The white coach was made head. The white people were always the head. It makes black people feel bad. They were made to integrate and when they integrated, they put the white folks at the head. It

was really not for the benefit of the black people. It was only for the benefit of the school system.

Desegregation at lower levels of school systems where there is segregation in senior positions fools no one, and tends to destroy minority hopes and faith in the future.

Whatever his or her race, the principal of an interracial school will encounter criticism from blacks and whites. The tendency to categorize leaders very quickly is partly due to the history of school racial policy. A long history of anger and resentment at discrimination has led many blacks to stereotype and distrust whites. Whites committed to integration frequently develop a similar mistrust of moderates in positions of power. The black principal also may be stereotyped positively or negatively by black and white persons in favor of integration. Frequently the black principal's appointment to a desegregated school is a signal of the school system's commitment to integration at the staff level as well as the student level. Sometimes it is merely a token gesture meant to satisfy militants and ward off further change. Black students and some whites initially may have more trust in the black principal, but this trust can be easily lost if there is evidence of unfair treatment of either blacks or whites. Moreover, the black principal's acceptance of this initial level of change and willingness to risk moving the system toward greater equality will be observed. In most places the principal's attitude toward new black consciousness and black pride will be tested not so much for a personal adoption of these philosophies but for understanding of and sympathy with blacks who have adopted them. If the principal disparages black history and black culture, withdrawal of black support is to be expected. Black principals who experience resistance from white parents and community members may make an extended effort to meet with students and parents in the community and in homes. Another strategy may be to ignore the criticism and let an effective job in the school be the best answer for it.

The black or white principal who perceives or experiences racial biases or epithets from a staff member must act swiftly and surely. Since students are certain to be affected by teachers or service personnel who resist or reject staff integration, these persons are dangerous and must be confronted forthrightly. The same vigorous confrontation of racist behavior should mark the principal's self-examination and posture toward fellow administrators or community leaders.

The Principal and Student Involvement

The involvement of students in the school's academic and social activities in ways that are meaningful and useful must be a vital concern for principals. Such involvement can become a valuable means for interracial association.

Participation in school activities often makes the difference between an enjoyable and rewarding school and a distant and lonely institution. Student participation in school life goes beyond completion of assignments and punctual attendance to include a commitment to learn and share experiences with a dedicated faculty. School involvement is also expressed in joining extracurricular activities and clubs, holding offices, and making known attitudes and feelings about various matters. In an integrated school, all students should feel free to participate in these ways; they should perceive that their activities are meaningful and useful; and the principal should ensure that no formal or informal barriers to participation arise.

Some students have to be encouraged to become involved in school activities. Those who move from a school in which they were a racial majority into a school in which they are a minority may have difficulty adjusting to this fact. They probably will not begin to participate in school activities until they trust the personnel and structure of the new school and understand the motivations and intentions of majority students. Although hesitancy may be interpreted as apathy or disinterest, it actually is one of the normal reactions to minority-group status. Thus, extracurricular activities may easily become segregated.

Typically, black or brown students are the alienated minority in a predominantly white school where activities and rules usually are based on the culture of the majority group. It is wise to bring minority students and parents into school events early in the year and to continue to encourage their participation throughout the term. One way to "welcome" new students to their school is to plan activities to make them feel at ease there. An "old" student may be assigned to each

"new" student to introduce him to the other students, to eating facilities, and to some of the school rules and activities. Access to a "qualified individual" who knows the ropes and can help with questions about unfamiliar procedures can boost the spirits of entering students and help them to discover the potentials for enjoyment and growth in their new situation. There is no reason for the principal to assume complete responsibility for these tasks. Students can arrange for these activities themselves and parents can provide community-oriented receptions or programs. The principal may initiate or support the ideas and make services available to enable others to complete the task.

Attempts to "increase the interest" of minority students, even if successful, often overlook different needs of these students. Adaptation of school programs could increase their involvement more quickly than persuasion to partake in traditional activities. For example, a counseling office that concentrates on discussions of college requirements will be useless to lower class youngsters who cannot or will not go to college, and certain other kinds of extracurricular programs may have limited appeal to diverse groups of youngsters. Involvement is a meaningful goal only when activities are available which have some real payoff to all students.

FACILITATING PRODUCTIVE SOCIAL AND EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

School clubs frequently list proficiency, service, or learning in their constitutions but in practice they serve as opportunities for friends to meet and enjoy each other's company. If no other real inducement for meeting is offered, it is no wonder that students not included in these friendships have no interest in joining.

Academic rules and regulations which restrict participation in extracurricular activities stem from the traditional notion that activities are supplementary events for good students rather than meaningful educational experiences for all students. Minimum grade-point averages and standards of entry irrelevant to the activities of clubs are examples of this tradition. Extracurricular activities which encourage the development of competencies useful for modern living may provide valuable incentives for learning academic skills. The degree of interest educators have in bringing minority students into school activities is evidenced by the extent of their efforts to overcome traditional barriers to involvement.

Students may seek to define their roles in a multiracial school through clubs based on their ethnic identity. Martin Luther King Clubs, Malcolm X Clubs, Black Student Unions, Brown Berets, and Unions of Mexican-American Students are examples. Although administrators often fear that such organizations will lead to a strong separation of black from white students and a withdrawal of minority students from integrated school activities, this need not be the case. Less withdrawal and new forms of pluralistic involvement are also likely. Moreover, fear of and limitations on ethnic cohesiveness seldom prevent its appearance; more often such groups are driven underground or become noisy and disruptive in search of legitimacy. A positive school response to ethnic groups is described in the following dialogue:

> (Counselor) This program started with about 20 students. These are students who I've been working with for a period of 4 or 5 weeks, and the primary problem as I saw it, most of the problems that my students referred to me for, was disruptions in the classroom, in the hall; in general, an inability to focus on and involve themselves in the planned activity for their various classes. I talked with all of them, and it's been a fair amount of time, we got a fairly good idea of what their problems were, from their perspective, and it appears that their major problem was one of self-image. They really had a difficult time relating to a lot of the things that happened or that they were asked to do because of their own lack of confidence or respect for themselves. My thought was to attempt to involve them in something that would help develop more positive feelings for themselves, and these were all black students by the way. My thought was to initiate or have them to initiate on the basis of their understandings and their needs, programs that would inform them about their cultural heritage. As I said, I started out with about 20 students, and the thing was that we did initially was to have them develop through their own research presentations that they would make to each other. They did this and it stimulated more interest.
>
> (Interviewer) You mean they got down to learning—and in order to present they would actually have to learn.
>
> (Counselor) This is precisely the case . . . they actually found within themselves the resources to take on responsibilities, too, which was a major step. They assumed the responsibilities for establishing programs, for putting on skits. They even went further

and assumed the responsibility for attempting to involve other people, and they were successful. They involved a total of 127 students in their activities, and, with these 127 students, additional projects were developed and new ideas were brought with these students and to the entire program. And in result of it all, a presentation was presented by these students to the entire school and this took place over a period of about a semester. It started with complaints regarding students and developed into a group of 20, then programs, skits, and things of this sort that were developed from that. They devised their own ways of involving students and, of course, with my assistance and with assistance from the school.

(Interviewer) What would you say would be the results of an experience like that? What was learned or gained?

(Counselor) The most valuable results were realized by a tremendous increase in the students' sense of worthwhileness. This has been reflected in a number of ways—involvement in their classroom activities. They are more involved now. They feel that they are capable of learning; they are contributing members. As a result of this, they have assumed a sense of responsibility for seeing to it that classroom activities are in accord with the rules to make it possible for everybody to participate, which is the exact opposite of the way they were oriented before. They seemed at this point to have a stake in things here.

As this counselor's report clearly indicates, a cohesive ethnic group association in the school may give students confused or ignorant about their own history and culture a new pride in themselves and in the education that serves their needs for self-knowledge. Frequently, members of these organizations can devise programs, exhibits, and activities which make positive contributions to the learning of all students in school. Almost without fail, these black and brown ethnic organizations serve as a stimulant to white students to read and learn more about American culture and history. The principal who can support and encourage the formation of such learning opportunities is making a major contribution to student growth and positive interracial relations.

Extracurricular activities could be designed to provide real services to the community. Many students are prepared to volunteer in social welfare agencies, to participate in political campaigns, to survey and analyze what's happening in the community around them. Future nurses could assist in hospitals rather than merely talk about nursing; future teachers could work as tutors or teaching aides with younger students instead of reading about teaching. The possibilities for community service or apprenticeship are limited only by the school's willingness to support them. Money is generally not a requirement, and local citizens and college students can often be enlisted as volunteers to assume much of the extra workload.

The principal who provides work-study opportunities must also be prepared to explain them to parents who might not want their youngsters exposed to certain types of learning experiences. Practice nursing may require contact with sickness, awareness of sexual functioning, and introduction to adult problems. Tutoring students with academic difficulties may open disturbing questions about practices of families, schools, and cultural groups. Teachers should be prepared to use classroom discussions and assignments to help students explore and deal with both individual and social problems uncovered in their work.

The principal can support youth activities sponsored by community groups committed to integration. Religious groups often hold conferences for young people on human relations topics. State and local laws concerning separation of church and state will govern the nature and extent of school encouragement of these activities. Students may be excused from classes to participate in them. Local YMCA's, 4-H Clubs, youth centers, Little Leagues, and similar organizations can be contacted by school officials for cooperative planning and to enlist their support and encouragement for integration. Sessions on racial relations will be most helpful if the principal and his staff plan how to reinforce in school the knowledge and the relationships developed as a result of positive experiences in groups outside the school. Mini-conferences on school time, reports at special assemblies, and open classroom discussions all may serve this purpose.

The wise selection of teacher sponsors carries as significant a message as the activity itself. If a number of the sponsors or coaches are minority group members, minority students will more likely expect these organizations to meet their interests. Students who are reluctant to participate with a majority group may observe that the group will be mixed and that a member of their race can have influence in that club. Where students frequently converse in another language or dialect, several sponsors who speak that language in addition to standard English will

prove very useful. Although it is the practice for principals to select sponsors, students could accept or share in this responsibility. The process might involve deciding whether the proposed sponsor should serve as a controller and censor, a consultant and advocate, or a nominal figure.

Athletic programs sometimes have difficulties not present in other areas of school life. Black students in a predominantly white student body seldom are hesitant to participate in athletics, believing that other blacks will probably participate, and that the school is more likely to expect their success in athletic than in academic programs. However, conflicts within a team may arise if there is any indication that able blacks are cut from squads while less able whites are retained, or if leadership positions are not given to blacks. Concern for such issues can be extremely intense, as a black parent explained:

> This coach has been here for 20 years. I know he's prejudiced. He didn't want integration. We've had an integrated high school team for a long time. There have been a lot of beautiful black players, but no black quarterbacks. My son is the quarterback of the junior high school team. I've been training him since grade school to be a quarterback, and to be such a good quarterback that the coach has to play him.

Cheerleading discrimination has become one of the sources of anger and confrontation in many secondary schools. A southern high school teacher explained her feelings about progress at her school:

> We're very proud of our school. We have an integrated cheerleading squad. You know, our school plays a lot of integrated teams but none of them has any colored cheerleaders.

Many black players and no black cheerleaders is a common phenomenon. A major reason for it is the tendency of whites to judge black females according to white cultural styles of beauty and of shouting, jumping, dancing, and singing. Cheerleaders are to encourage and excite, and the criteria for judging these abilities are ambiguous. Although some physical agility is required, athletic skill is no indication of ability to motivate others. If old cheerleaders choose new cheerleaders, minority members face the barrier of breaking into an exclusive social club. These are some of the reasons that blacks usually are not chosen in proportion to their numbers. The principal can require fair criteria for selection or election for highly valued activities and should supervise the implementation of these criteria.

The principal as well as teachers can encourage informal and close friendly relations among students across racial lines and can take steps to assure that students desiring close relationships are not subjected to rejection by students of their own race or disapproval or retaliation from teachers. In elementary schools, the closest student relationships are among members of the same sex, while friendships with the opposite sex are usually most important in secondary schools, regardless of race. However, black and white students in some secondary schools express fear that even the appearance of a heterosexual, interracial relationship will be disapproved by teachers and possibly punished through gossip, reports to parents, or unjust grading. Because students perceive and resent attempts to manipulate their relationships, they tend to reject educators who interfere in their private lives. In the interest of maintaining a favorable environment for learning, the school administration should attempt to prevent these intrusions into students' privacy and thus quiet the negative attitudes associated with them.

Students' out-of-school relationships, often affected by pressure from adults, provide clues to feelings within the student body and community. Youngsters do not trust allegations of friendship in school which are not supported by out-of-school behavior. Thus social activities may become issues in a recently desegregated school. White parents may transfer dances and dinners from school to private organizations in an attempt to avoid interracial social activities in school-sponsored facilities. Official school responses to such actions are of crucial importance. Shall integration cause all school social functions to stop? If they are retained, how does the school resolve potential conflict over types of music and types of dancing? How does the school encourage sharing of culture and sharing of fun? When some parents object to their children's friends and acquaintances, where does the school stand? Does it take issue with these parents, take no action, or comply with their wishes?

In confronting these questions, the school's concerns should be to avoid placing additional pressures on students and to help teachers and community members discover alternatives that permit student growth. Black and white youngsters who begin to work together and to enjoy their own relationships frequently are required to confront and overcome their familial or cultural history and traditions. These students need the school's help. Students who find staff members unwilling to assist in decreasing community pressure

and resistant to students' interracial relations become doubtful about the integrity and competence of the administration. The provision of meaningful and exciting extracurricular programs can help bridge the gap between integrated schooling and activities within segregated communities.

STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN DECISIONMAKING

Student groups have the expertise to deal with many of the racial problems of integrated education. In the past, however, forms for student political involvement have been failures. Student councils, courts, and clubs have passively conformed to administrative policy. Student representatives traditionally have been an elite group; student councils have been highly controlled by faculty members; student newspapers have been censored by the administration. One teacher's position on the need for students to participate in decisions is reported on the next record band:

RECORD BAND #10:

(Teacher) Well, this was probably the point that was the one most important to the administration, that kept them from even considering the possible implementation of that idea, of a kind of community council rather than just a student council. Because the administration feels like that they have to have the final control of whether or not kids wear bell bottoms or hair codes, and so on, and I think the kids should have some kind of decisionmaking role to play in things like that in which they're involved. They certainly ought to have some voice in making those decisions for the whole school.

(Interviewer) So what happened?

(Teacher) Well, the principal and the assistant principal and the counselor, three of the counselors because we're divided that way, and a couple of teacher representatives were there when the two kids and myself brought this proposal in. And even though it was fairly favorably received the dress code thing became the focus of the refusal to consider it as part of the structure of the school, because it would somehow rather be taking too much control away from where they think it should lie.

The term "student councils" as used in this section refers only to student organizations that have actual power with respect to school policies. We do not refer to the hoaxes of representation which are found in many schools. Impotent and homogeneous student organizations cannot help the school deal with its problems, particularly if the school is attempting racial integration. Some student councils are operative for majority group youngsters only. The following quotes mention some special issues which can arise with respect to student councils in desegregated schools:

(Student) Last year, they had a president who was in student council for 3 months. Now a black student is running for president, and they're saying he has to be in student council for 1 year. Now the students are trying to talk to somebody white. Last year, a black girl won the treasurer of the junior class. One of the opponent's mothers objected, and the principal thought of something which got the Negro out of office. How can you learn when you're constantly being looked down upon? Every time a black student wants some leadership in this school, they make new rules.

(Student) The student council constitution was set up for one school, and not changed when the school was integrated. Black kids just didn't have the chance to be elected from the way elections were run. They were run on homeroom districts, and there would only be six or eight blacks in the homeroom. And the white kids were elected. Now we hope to change that, and have the whole class vote for six or eight offices.

(Teacher) I think the consequences of not having power have been a general marked apathy on the part of Negro students toward student government or student affairs in an organized way. The leadership that the black kids have had have been outside student government. The demands of the black students always appear to the administration as being some sort of demonstration. I don't think this is necessarily justified. You see, the student council has a lot of say around here, at least about social things.

Administrators sometimes seem to make special rules to ensure continued white control of school affairs. It is no wonder black and brown students lack faith in the persons and organizations established to represent their interests. For such groups to be effective, all students in the school must have trust in the competence of these representatives as individuals and in their effectiveness and influence as a group. If student councils have no real power to decide issues important to students, they will seek other means of exerting influence. The principal must take the lead, sometimes over faculty resistance and apparent student apathy, to see that effective forms of student involvement are initiated.

Minorities which fear that they cannot obtain adequate representation in school-wide democratic elections may avoid election procedures, particularly in the early stages of desegregation of a majority white school. Numerically, the blacks stand no chance of electing a representative. They gain representation either when outstanding individual candidates arise or when majority group students realize that multiracial representation is needed. In either case, representation of the minority depends on the majority's good will—a tenuous political base. Consequently, an effective strategy for making the most of few political votes block voting on the part of the minority. The majority group response varies from charges that "they're voting the face and not the man" to realization that representation of diversity is essential. Block voting, sometimes viewed as a threat to democratic institutions, represents an excellent opportunity for the instructional staff to teach about patterns of influencing democratic social organizations.

Election procedures can either increase or decrease the probability of minority group representation. Where minority students are a small percentage in each homeroom and representatives are elected on a homeroom basis the probability of minority representation is small. School-wide elections increase both the strength of the minority voters and the likelihood that some majority students will attempt to ensure minority representation by voting for minority students. If the racial split is intense and rigid, the principal may appoint a student group that appears to be representative. The procedure of selection may not be as important as assuring that the group will elicit the trust and command the respect of fellow students. Of course, an appointment procedure always carries a number of risks: it hides confrontations and divisions; it substitutes an arbitrary administrative process for a democratic one; and it may not be successful in identifying effective as well as representative student leaders.

The principal should see that student leaders are trained in collaboration and decisionmaking skills and that they learn how to organize and advance students' interests, how to determine their authority, and how to recognize appropriate problems in the school. Students will need to understand and prepare for the difficulties of maintaining an effective political and representative structure while in the midst of the school's other work.

When faculty sponsors are required for student organizations, students can be relied upon to select teachers who can be most helpful to them. Sponsors are not always necessary; many student groups are ready and able to work without faculty supervision. As another alternative, the principal may create a student-faculty decisionmaking body and ask representative staff members to join, rather than to advise, students.

Students can assume major decisionmaking responsibility for school-related social functions. Students who are deeply knowledgeable about the issues can establish policies concerning the governing of extracurricular activities, rules for student participation in school parties and dances, the handling of grievances within the student body, and standards for cultural variation in fashion. The problems of cultural differences in dress and fashion may be heightened inappropriately by principals' intention to adhere to narrow standards. Some administrators have decided arbitrarily that students shouldn't have mustaches. Although mustaches are not the usual fashion among white adults, they are commonly worn by black adults. Telling black students that they shouldn't have mustaches contravenes some expectations of black culture and proclaims that only the customs of the white culture are accepted in the school. Long hair and Afro cuts are also worn by many blacks for racial as much as generational reasons. Wearing short straight hair is viewed by these youngsters as an unacceptable deference to white values. There is no reason why standards of student fashion cannot be made and reviewed by students themselves.

Thinking about cultural differences in the process of arriving at school rules and conventions can help to alleviate and lessen conflict among students and between students and the school administration. Active consideration of cultural differences probably will lead to greater tolerance for individual differences as well. For instance, it would be inconsistent for a school administrator to accept dashikis on blacks and reject sport shirts on whites, or to accept tie clasps and cufflinks on whites and reject tikkis on blacks.

Student decisionmaking units also can create and review the administration of discipline. They may detect and correct rules which are too vague or too strict to be enforced, just as judiciaries contribute to the determination or modification of laws while administering penalties. Student-faculty judiciaries can serve in the administration of justice not only for all students but also in cases of teacher grievance. The principal must make time available for such bodies to review and evaluate their decisions and to receive careful training concerning legal administration and fair

procedure, without which such judiciaries can range from ineffective to dangerous.

With respect to curriculum and instruction, students currently are the clients or consumers of a process over which they have no formal influence. The school usually does not even attempt to obtain feedback from its students in any systematic way. Public school students can help evaluate, plan, and use new academically sound curriculums. In fact, black student unions or clubs and race relations courses have evolved from student's desires for realistic learning experiences. As those most directly affected by teachers' expertise and as claimants to quality education, students can offer useful feedback concerning instructional practices. In many cases student reactions, carefully assessed, can and should be considered when decisions are being made regarding teacher employment, advancement, and termination.

In all these areas, students could easily make inappropriate decisions if they have not first come to an understanding of cultural differences, racial prejudices, and learning outcomes. Such understanding develops through substantial training and reflection upon experience, both of which require time. But the educational process involves such activities; consequently, they are best woven into the curriculum and not considered mere "extras." The process of working out human relations problems can lead to learning equivalent to that obtained from formal courses. The principal can augment learning outcomes by encouraging students and staff to explore these problems in class discussions and assignments.

In sharing decisionmaking functions, the principal takes certain risks. Decisions may be made which the principal might not have made or with which he may disagree. Or the faculty may oppose an increase in student influence upon school life. On the positive side, while the principal does not lose his accountability for the way the school functions, he avoids accusations that decisions are based on his own personal whims and ignorance.

RESPONDING TO CONFRONTATION AND DISRUPTION

Considerable antagonism and dissension within junior and senior high schools has been attributed to racial desegregation. Walkouts, boycotts, strikes, sit-ins, and fights are disruptive attempts by students to cope with school and community pressures. Sometimes these situations erupt along color, ethnic, or economic lines; at other times there is confrontation between students and adults. Apparent racial disturbances may occasionally be expressions of anger and tensions over other issues.

The school can expect the major problems of American society to be reflected in the lives of its young people. Schools are a vulnerable and visible target for society's disaffections. When the expression of student frustrations and anger creates "crises" for school administrators, it is possible to view them as bad omens for the educational institution, the lives of youngsters, and professional careers. However, conflicts and crises may offer opportunities for educators to reexamine themselves and their goals and to develop creative and more effective ways of educating youngsters. Administrative repression and suppression or denial and escape neither respond to the key educational issues behind school crises nor offer the likelihood of rapid deescalation of tension and conflict. Viewing disruption as an opportunity for evaluating customary practices and initiating needed changes permits more creative responses to school crises.

To respond to school crises in ways that may reduce the level of overt conflict, principals must draw upon some reservoir of student trust. Evidence of this trust is expressed by one student, whose discussion of his principal is on the next record band:

RECORD BAND # 11:

> Yea, well our principal, I think he's really a good guy. You know, you really get the feeling that he's with it, he's really with the kids. You see him around everywhere in the halls, you know, he'll say hello to you. I don't think he knows everybody's name, but he gives the impression that he knows you. You sort of have that feeling about him. Like there's a . . . at our football games, there's a popcorn machine, and he could go to the head of the line and get it, you know, like he's the principal, but he just stands in line like everybody else and he waits his turn.

Without such admiration, students are not likely to value what their principal tries to do. Students often argue that demonstrations and protests have occurred because their other efforts to get administrators and teachers to listen to and act on concerns and demands failed.

In the midst of a crisis it is often possible to establish formal mechanisms for social interaction which bring together students and teachers or different social classes and races for the purpose of discussing issues which divide them. Another possi-

bility is the immediate establishment of effective procedures for resolving grievances. A sounding board or a call for administrators to "listen" to students is not sufficient; multistatus groups are needed to seek out and respond to grievances from any source in the school community. A grievance procedure that does not provide for independent enforcement power or access to enforcement from other powers in the system will be seen by students as another opportunity for administrative deception and control.

Before a conflict can be resolved, harried school administrators and students will need to understand the roots of their own anger and defenses as well as to gain positive and productive control over their feelings. Righteous indignation, defensiveness, despair, or affront, while understandable reactions to stress, can provoke and escalate conflict. One can sympathize with all of these feelings and yet recognize their deleterious effect on any efforts to negotiate and restore order in the school.

Prompt and open responses to student concerns and the implementation of various grievance-handling systems or conflict-mediating operations will help to reduce the immediate tension. But they do not tackle unsolved educational problems, curriculum and instructional irrelevance or incompetence, interpersonal control or disrespect, and the effects of racism on the lives of many students. Only widespread and continuing attention to altering these basic conditions will, in the long run, bring an end to school disruption and greater progress toward quality education.

Attempts to change our schools must include a renewed commitment on the part of educators to practical and moral trustworthiness and a willingness on the part of youngsters to trust in them. Curriculum improvement, greater attention to patterns of communication and interpersonal relations, clearer and more immediate manifestations of the economic and intellectual benefits of schooling, and evidence that the school and classroom are being administered in the true interests of students, all may strengthen trust. Student control of school social arrangements, individualized learning systems, and student participation in making school decisions which do not require professional expertise increase students' concern for their own educational careers.

The way principals deal with trust and power and their skill in accepting and engineering new forms of student and teacher participation will largely determine whether these forces will be destructive to our schools or whether they will stimulate high-quality educational environments.

VIII

The Principal and Community Support

Individual parents may be the most vocal and visible element of the community encompassing the local school, but when they band together at the voting polls, form community organizations, and exert pressure regarding important decisions about the education of their children, they have a powerful effect. Both as individuals and as groups, members of the community carry weight which may serve either as strength and support for the school's efforts or as a force of frustration and resistance against integration.

The principal is a central figure in educating and influencing the community to support goals of integration, and in drawing upon community support to encourage efforts by teachers and students. Parental support sometimes has provided the needed votes to approve desegregation plans or to elect sympathetic school board members. In some communities, parent groups have served as sounding boards for possible solutions to the problems of integrated education. As individuals, parents influence their children's attitudes toward interracial settings and have the power to expand their children's social contacts. They have power and are beginning to use their power to bring about changes in their schools.

During the preliminary stages of integration the principal may have to do *things above and beyond the* normal range of duties. A special attempt may be necessary to encourage minority students and their parents to participate in traditional school activities. Father-son nights, mother-daughter teas, school dinners, and picnics are important activities to many students and parents. Minority parents may be aware of the formal announcements but nevertheless not feel welcome. A printed notice announcing these events may be followed by a personal phone call from the teacher or class mother repeating their desire to see parents in the schools. Making personal calls to all new parents may be extraordinarily demanding when a large percentage of the school population is new, but the effort will eventually

yield greater participation and parents and students will feel more welcome. Participation will also depend upon the scheduling and other arrangements for events; for example, whether parents will be home from work, whether babysitting is provided, and what expenses are involved in participation.

When white children are in the minority in a school, their parents may be sensitive to negative reactions from their neighbors. Counteracting this negativism may move the principal beyond making parents feel welcome and beyond considering changes in the school's programs to developing a program for working with attitudes and interest groups in the community as a whole. If the community can see that the school is a good place for learning, criticism and protest about it will be less likely. Community leaders and political representatives should be involved in any broad effort to change community racial patterns.

Community resistance to school integration is by no means limited to white parents and groups. Black parents, too, sometimes oppose efforts at integration, anticipate white resistance, and are not readily convinced that desegregation will be accompanied by an increase in the quality of local education. Certainly, the history of recent integration programs contains scant evidence that educational quality will improve. Educators seeking to gain the cooperation of black parents and community groups must demonstrate their willingness to undertake earnest and significant change in the school. Moreover, they must involve black and white adults in the design of new school programs, in the process of integration, and in greater control of the local educational process.

Long-term parental support for integration can be encouraged by giving parents an opportunity to participate in instruction and decision-making. The involvement of black and white parents may be initiated through the PTA or by individual classrooms. Sometimes the principal can urge teachers to seek out parents; in some cases the reverse is more appropriate. A parent's initiative in raising questions regarding teacher support of integration is illustrated in the next record band:

RECORD BAND #12:

> There was this little Mexican-American girl in my son's accelerated class in the second grade. He is in the fourth grade now. And she was a charming little girl and I thought she was very bright, but the next year, she wasn't in his class, and the kids are supposed to stay together all the way through this accelerated program. So I went to the third grade teacher and asked her why Rosie wasn't in the accelerated class this year, and perhaps she had moved out of town, and the teacher said no, she was in town, but she just couldn't do the work. And I asked her why she had been put in the accelerated class in the first place, and the teacher responded that she didn't know why she had been put there, but that she just didn't think she could do the work and keep up with the rest of the children. Well maybe she couldn't, but I was really highly suspicious.

This white parent strongly supported integration and was distressed at the school's failure to maintain the accelerated status of a Mexican-American youngster. The same parent later commented to the principal about the teacher's attitude. The principal can encourage parents and community groups which support integration to make the public and the schools aware of their views and valid observations without subjecting teachers to unfair attack.

Parents can participate in making a variety of decisions about the curriculum, the selection of new teachers and administrators, the evaluation of school programs, financial allocations, etc., and should be provided with the information necessary for sound judgment. One principal invited a parent and teacher whom he felt might help evaluate a prospective teacher's racial and social attitudes to participate in his conferences when he interviewed this teacher for a job. The three of them discussed their reactions to the individual, each from a different perspective.

Parents may also become resources for children's learning. The principal can begin by asking parents to permit small groups of students to visit them at work and to learn about what they are doing. In addition, the school can set aside a day for parents to come to school and teach something children want to know. In several elementary and junior high schools these programs stimulated much interest and learning; many of the individual lessons were reportedly excellent, and the parents involved got a taste of teaching in the school.

Along with staff, teachers, and principals, parents can be involved in interracial groups which explore human relations issues in the school and community. Such groups allow participants to speak honestly about some of their fears, pressures, and expectations concerning integrated and quality education. In this way parents and school officials in turn are made more conscious of some of the issues which concern the other group. School-community conferences and adult education courses are

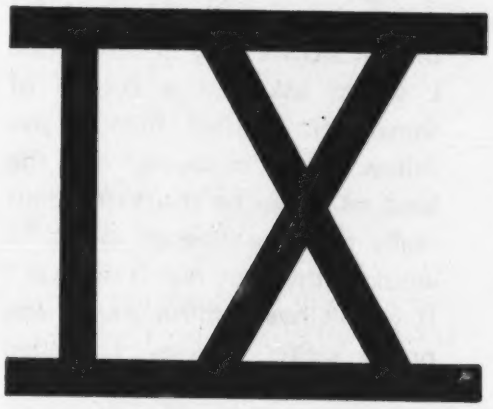
other means the school may select in an effort to help parents and community groups understand and support school integration and improve their racial and social relationships.

Staff members of community agencies may be invited to assist the school faculty to consider solutions to integration problems and to mobilize material and human resources in the community. Other agencies such as the local newspaper staff, law enforcement systems, and civic groups have wide audiences which influence the life of young people in the community. These groups should be approached with discretion; if the principal feels that they are likely to oppose integration, it would be better to work without them or to attempt gradually to gain their support. However, it is wise to look for potential support among such groups and to utilize whatever assistance may be found.

Sympathetic community groups can augment integrated education through "projects" such as integrating residential neighborhoods and local places of entertainment and working for equal job opportunities. School personnel can support these endeavors and encourage black and white parents and other community members to do likewise. For instance, an establishment known for its hostility to interracial functions may be made off limits for official school events. School banquets may be held only in hotels or restaurants which practice equal employment. Establishments which do not hire or promote blacks may be avoided when school equipment or supplies are purchased. Thus the school can demonstrate commitment to integration of the local community.

When the school professes desires for change but is unwilling to take the necessary action, parents have reason to feel they are being deceived. Further, any crisis which arises will be heightened if no lines of communication and trust are present to involve and inform parents. Those who do not know the background and nature of issues are ill-prepared to act constructively in specific situations.

All schools are involved in community politics, whether or not this involvement is deliberate and planned. The question is whether school systems are going to shift energy spent in avoiding trouble with the community toward an active attempt to obtain support for innovation and change. Integration can succeed only with the help, encouragement, and supplemental resources of a supportive community. School personnel must be prepared to discover, gather, or even create those resources.



The Principal and the Professional Staffs

The success of interracial schooling requires the principal not only to organize and direct the resources of his teaching staff and ancillary school personnel but also to obtain cooperation from other principals and senior administrators in the school system. Unless the various staff members in these positions support one another's efforts, each principal will be the lonely director of a divided staff presiding over the failure of a potentially innovative school program.

WORKING WITH THE TEACHING STAFF

Assisting individual staff members increase and utilize their unique skills in the classroom also implies building and maintaining an effective organization of teachers who will support one another. A first step in this direction would be a diagnosis of the current staff situation; for example, the number, distribution patterns, and social relationships of black and white teachers. In addition, the principal should be aware of each teacher's degree of bigotry, fear, and confidence, and knowledgeable, about his or her instructional capabilities, as a basis for deciding which teachers might be most helpful in achieving the goals of integration in the classroom.

Critical to success in school integration is the forthright and continuing demonstration by all administrators of their personal and organizational commitment to this goal. The principal's own concern about innovative teaching and interracial progress should be made explicit, since many principals who feel that they are committed later discover that their staffs have thought they were not interested in educational innovations and racial integration. Therefore, a deliberate effort should be made both to communicate the principal's own values and concerns about improved race relations in the classroom and to develop staff relationships which will support teachers' efforts.

It is not enough for principals simply to talk about their values and goals. Commitment may be demonstrated by the allocation of extra financial resources, time within the school

day, and encouragement for teachers to try new ideas in interracial education. Innovations in interracial education may be risky or anxiety-provoking for many teachers, and the principal's unequivocal emotional support at key times can be both necessary and liberating. In the next quotation, a teacher reports his perception of a lack of support which may not be uncommon:

> The best way to really get along in this system is just do my job, like I'm told to do, and don't rock the boat. If you try to push a new idea too hard, you're gonna get static from a lot of sources, and I'm just tired of getting static. Let me give you an example of what I'm talking about; I guess the straw that broke my camel's back. We had a discussion, a pretty good discussion going in class about the various kinds of cultural backgrounds of the kids, and I've got a pretty good group of black kids in my class, and among us I think I was partially responsible for pushing the talk about differences in customs and languages and backgrounds, and mores, and where they come from in the country and different things like that. And they got interested in finding out more about these kinds of things, so we decided to do some home visitations. Seems kind of a natural outgrowth of kids wanting to learn and keep the learning process going about their friends and then after making some of these visitations, write a little paper and maybe even make an oral report to class on some of the things they see as a kick-off of discussion about learning more about your fellow man, if you want to put it that "cornilly." Well, I soon discovered that there was a good bit of red tape to go through, even to get an idea like that going, something outside of the school; forms to fill out, clearance with the principal, etc. But I decided to do it anyway because the kids were turned on and so was I. Well, the idea really hadn't been germinated too long until the principal got a couple, three phone calls, I don't really know how many he got, from somebody somewhere, which I assume were pretty negative about even trying something like that. Well, we were passing in the hall about the third day, the following week, and he stopped me and he told me personally that he thought that it was a pretty good idea, and he'd back me up on it, but you know, the way he put that to me, "George," began to make me wonder whether he was really trying to support me and my group, or whether he was pretty ambivalent about it. I got a different me[illegible] you see. I really wasn't sure [illegible]ether he was for this wholeheartedly or not. When I would ask him a couple of things, his studied silence, you follow what I'm saying? And the kind of things he chuckled about really sent the message to me, "I would rather you didn't do that." It wasn't overt, mind you, it was pretty subtle; anyway, I decided to chuck the whole thing.

It is not clear whether the principal really disapproved of this teacher's activity; from the teacher's point of view he clearly was ambivalent. Faced with what seemed to be lack of support, the teacher simply gave up, and there is no way of knowing what would have happened if he had been vigorously supported. The principal should have presented and verified his message so that it was clear and not likely to be misinterpreted.

Administrators often ask social scientists how they might determine whether teachers are prejudiced. More important than their beliefs, however, is the extent to which teachers behave unprofessionally in the school and classroom due to racial differences. Some teachers are openly prejudiced, are aware of it, and in one way or another express their feelings to fellow teachers and to students. These teachers often say, "I don't like what's happening and I'm not going to change." Other teachers profess commitment to equality of educational opportunity and to "being fair" in disciplinary functions but lack certain skills critical to this process. Finally, there are teachers who have developed good relationships with their black and white students who may feel quite comfortable in class and who report positive attitudes about interracial matters. Often these teachers form an especially innovative group which may facilitate further changes in teaching styles. Sometimes they are alienated from the bulk of their colleagues and are resented as deviants from traditional professional practices and perspectives.

The principal can treat teachers in each of these three categories very differently. If a teacher exhibits racist behavior, there is always the possibility that pressures from the principal can force change. Active strategies of the principal may include controlling the teacher's behavior, isolating his or her influence, or discreetly obtaining the evidence which would justify dismissal. Destructive postures should be curtailed as soon as they appear.

When the principal believes that an individual's basic commitment is to professional excellence within the desegregated setting, the teacher can be encouraged to develop necessary skills. The principal's personal in-

fluence, control of various external resources, and development of a staff that supports further growth can and should reduce certain public abuses. However, no principal by legislating a complex, painful, struggle can obtain positive interracial relationships; they are the result of a process guided by support, leadership, and skillful interventions. The principal who attempts to influence teachers' classroom practices must be prepared for resistance, since many teachers resent any intrusion or introduction of techniques which threaten their customary behavior. Some teachers deal with their own anxieties by turning to more routine, tending to disregard students' attitudes and feelings, and adopting stricter and harsher measures against rule-breakers. The principal must calm irrational fears and focus on improvement of skills rather than enforcement of rules and regulations.

Supportive staff relations also are important to those teachers who are doing innovative work in race relations. They need to share their experiences with other teachers, and the rest of the staff needs their resources. Such teachers, especially younger ones, commonly report that their efforts to create or to continue to create changes in intergroup relations are inhibited by jeering and hostility from other teachers as well as lack of support. The principal must consider how to overcome such resistance and utilize the skills of these teachers in strengthening the quality of instruction and the intergroup climate in the school.

Sometimes the principal's personal racial views or concerns about school order prevent convincing support of teachers and students. One example of the way a principal's own fears or biases about students may create negative effects is given in the next record band:

RECORD BAND # 13:

> Here's an example that happened, sort of a strange thing. One of the little fellows in my class who happens to be black came in and said he was sick, so I said, "Well why don't you go and lie down, and rest up a bit." And he did have the flu and was out about a week from school so I imagine he was pretty weak. So he went to lie down when all of a sudden the principal walked in and said, "What are you doing here? You're not sick. Go back to the classroom!"

The teacher evidently feels miffed at the principal's action, and is suspicious of its reasons. Why was the teacher's suggestion countermanded? Why didn't the principal check with her before sending the student back? Why didn't the principal believe the student? Did he talk to him at all? Does it have anything to do with the student's race? Questions are raised, rumors fly, and assumptions are made whenever incidents of this sort happen. They would be unnecessary if teachers and principals were more open to each others' concerns about students' welfare.

The principal who wishes to create and sustain a strong network of support between administration and teachers and among teachers cannot do it alone; the motivation for such organization also must lie within the teaching staff. It may be fostered by inviting teachers to participate in policymaking, cooperative problem solving, management of faculty meetings, professional development sessions, and other activities requiring interdependence among the faculty. Teachers and principals complain frequently that staff meetings are unproductive and are devoted to trivialities and administrative details. However, they can be used to create a cohesive and supportive faculty committed to deal with important issues of school race relations, if substantial time and energy are allowed for a thorough examination of the issues.

Another way to begin increasing the initiative and influence of teachers' groups in school affairs is to revise the responsibilities of department chairmen. Chairmen might involve teachers in decisionmaking processes to provide a more horizontal distribution of power within the faculty. Alternatively, chairmen could be spokesmen for the teachers, with the goal of improving communication between teachers and administrators. Or chairmen might have an advisory role, helping to improve the level of instruction and working on personal relations among members of their departments. Department chairmen might be given some of the duties usually performed by the principal in order to give the principal more time for other matters. This sort of reorganization is only possible with additional personnel and training programs to prepare department chairmen for these new roles.

Teachers may begin by defining a common problem in school life and then comparing their observations and interpretations of its causes. The topic for discussion should be one in which some immediate action is possible, since motivation for working together is increased by some evidence of success. Support, approval, and other rewards from the principal should be forthcoming. The staff should be assisted to review its way of working together and to allow hidden resentments and antagonisms to surface before they can breed tensions which interfere with group processes.

Racial relations among staff members

may be another focus for group work. Sometimes black and white teachers on the same staff maintain a comfortable distance from one another. Although they do not experience great antagonism, neither are they close enough to share ideas, fears, or resources. Their work would be much more effective if they could overcome the distance and establish new relations which would permit them to learn from one another and collaborate in matters of mutual concern. Teachers working in integrated schools frequently want better techniques for evaluating the racial implications of their own and others' behavior. Staff members sometimes quarrel over the meaning of "favoritism for blacks" vs. "discrimination against blacks." The principal can use such an opportunity to help staff members explore their racial attitudes. Merely proclaiming that "such is obviously not the case here at our school" is evading an issue which may emerge later in a much more disruptive form. Openly encountering teachers' beliefs as they relate to their professional lives requires courage, but is an essential step before black and white teachers can feel free to talk and plan together in a genuinely congenial way. If the principal is firm in demonstrating that black and white teachers are expected to work together on school affairs, the expectation of better interracial staff relations and mutual understanding is more likely to be realized.

In relating to one another, Negro and white teachers encounter many of the same problems faced by newly desegregated groups of students and others in the community. Teachers' interpersonal relations are particularly significant, however, because faculty relationships are often observed by students and taken as models for their own associations. Moreover, teachers who have gone through the process of examining their own feelings and overcoming reticence toward persons whose backgrounds or color differ from theirs are better equipped to lead students in this process.

White and Negro teachers who have never worked with colleagues of another race may resist their addition to the staff, and the teacher who joins a staff largely composed of members of another race may be fearful and anxious about his or her reception. Recent experiences have indicated that even where there is apparent acceptance, condescension and separatism are common in racial and ethnic interaction among staff members. White teachers may treat black teachers as local experts on the black culture and call upon them to explain everything from dashikis to jazz to African revolutions. Similarly, Chicano adults may be expected to typify and interpret the diverse aspects of Mexican-American culture. The assumption is that individuals are capable of "representing" a race or minority group. It permits white teachers to escape from personal confrontations with black or brown youngsters by gathering information from faculty members. The few white teachers in a largely black staff may have a sense of being missionaries or martyrs, a posture repugnant to many of their white and black colleagues. These are some of the attitudes which may be worked out in staff meetings and through cooperative tasks assigned to small groups of teachers.

Although it has already been stated, it is important to keep in mind that the principal's commitment to certain teachers' activities will entail risk. The white principal may fear moving too fast with black teachers or failing to understand blacks' desires and demands. The black principal may be cautious in working with certain whites whose behavior reflects prejudices they don't seem to acknowledge. In any case, the staff cannot be expected to strive for racial growth unless the principal demonstrates that it is worth taking personal risks.

Of equal importance is the principal's responsibility to see to it that the staff has the time, energy, and financial resources to seriously examine its intergroup relations and teaching practices. These are not the kinds of issues which can be safely and productively explored in a few brief sessions. The principal must take the initiative by procuring resources and releasing teachers from their regular duties so that ideas may be shared and relationships built.

THE SUPPORT OF OTHER STAFF MEMBERS

Janitors, secretaries, and others who serve the school also influence its climate, its faculty-student relationships, and its capacity to function smoothly. For example, responses of lunch room personnel to students' requests for more food or different food have sometimes precipitated crises, and in other cases have conveyed interest in and support for students. Likewise, either discrimination or support for integration may be demonstrated by the reactions of custodians to students' noise, littering, and potential vandalism. Attempts by secretaries and receptionists to accept or deny requests to see the principal may influence student attitudes about the principal's interest in their concerns. Consequently, the principal should orient them about their roles in carrying out his expectations and supporting school policies.

Other professional personnel, such as guidance counselors, may make a

serious impact even if their contacts with students are routine and infrequent. They may offer different interpretations or explanations for disparities among racial groups in scores on objective tests, in grades, in teachers' criteria for grading. The use which counselors make of these student records may serve to perpetuate stereotypes unless discipline and understanding are exercised. Counselors who advise students about college or job choices must guard against self-fulfilling prophecies that shunt black youngsters into low-paying jobs or inferior colleges.

Often, counselors are expected to serve as disciplinarians, particularly in social matters. While this is not an enviable role, it can be adapted to meeting informally with students experiencing difficulty in school, helping them (perhaps as a group) investigate their problems, and planning changes in the curriculum or adopting policies through which the school might meet their needs. Some counselors of this type have helped black and white individuals and groups explore their reactions to school, their relations with one another, and their school's potential for change.

Inadequate counseling may give minority students the impression that the counselor has written them off as incompetent and has not given them a chance to move ahead. This feeling is behind the frequent demand by black and brown students for hiring of counselors from minority groups. Even when white counselors have been effective and helpful, many black students want to see black professionals in the same status as whites. Students also may feel that only a black counselor can fully understand black students; that only a Mexican-American counselor can fully meet the concerns of Chicano students, etc. Whatever his race, the alert counselor has actual information based on records and/or personal conversations that can widen the faculty's perspectives on student relationships and attitudes, and should be fully involved at all stages of school integration.

The jobs assigned to assistant principal vary with the school. Particularly if the assistant principal is inexperienced, the principal should closely supervise his or her relations with students, making sure that responsibilities suit the assistant's capabilities and personality. Review of performance and other feedback processes are most successful when they are reciprocal and reflect cohesive teamwork among the principal and assistants.

An interracial team of school administration indicates commitment to integration. In addition to indicating to all racial groups that there are channels of access and potential of responsiveness in the school administration, it offers a model for integrated leadership.

THE PRINCIPAL'S COLLEAGUES IN THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

Successful integration requires appropriate support for the principal from colleagues in the school system and higher administration. Unless it is evident, the principal will not be respected by his or her own staff. Principals have greater success when they work together to advocate each school's interests and to support the interests and needs of other schools. When each principal negotiates independently with district officials to obtain special resources and favors, peers cannot trust one another to share materials or to contribute new ideas toward the solution of common problems. This procedure cuts off the rewards of collaborative problem solving and planning by a cooperative group.

When principals work as a team, ideas can be shared, risks supported, lessons learned, and action agreed upon. For instance, policies regarding dress codes which seem to discriminate against a particular racial group can be adjusted throughout the school system. What principals do individually toward integration they may be able to do together to influence the entire system's policies. When racial policies which the principals consider to be wise and favorable are thwarted by one or two individuals in higher administration, group effort can magnify the principals' power. In one city, principals who suspected that a placement official was unsympathetic with the policy of hiring more black teachers demanded and obtained the right to interview personally any black candidates rather than send them through the usual procedures. No single principal could have forced that procedural revision, but the group action now provides each principal with greater autonomy. The development of a cohesive group, whatever its advantages, cannot mean a principal's moves to bring integration must slow or stop to adjust to the pace of colleagues. Each principal must decide when and where to exert influence, either by persuasion or by initiating innovative policy on racial matters within the school.

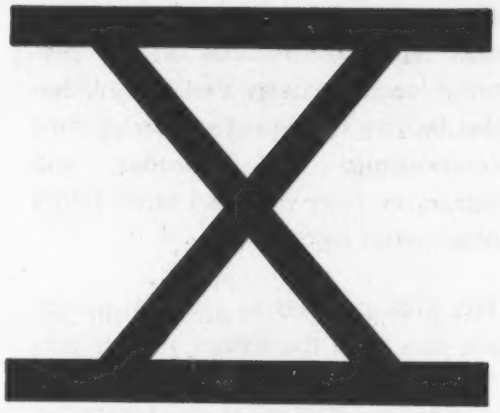
The difficulties in developing an effective team of principals are similar to those faced in developing cohesion among teachers. Principals have the additional problem of cooperating despite their obligations to very different constituencies. Unless a school system is integrated completely on a racial and social class basis, some principals will still be responsible for schools with a large majority of students from the same race or class. However, each must realize that the principal of an all-white or an all-

black school must be as concerned with the problems of integration as the principal of a racially mixed school.

Personal as well as organizational barriers frequently inhibit cooperation. Fear of alienation from the administration, lack of appreciation of group power, concern about status in the eyes of colleagues, and desires to be seen as competent and unruffled undoubtedly hinder a group from functioning effectively, and little progress can be made until these feelings are expressed and resolved. One principal who had been willing to express and confront his own fears and those of his colleagues reported the following:

> As a result of the discussions we've had it behooves us to be a little more frank with one another. And as a result of some of the understandings that have been developed here we're going to be more open and willing and able to communicate more thoroughly.

In a frank atmosphere, principals can discuss their underlying philosophies of education and what they feel should be their responsibilities in a rapidly changing school and society. A supportive group atmosphere may permit members to confront each other with less fear of misunderstanding and rejection or retaliation. As the group begins to work effectively on issues that are deeply important to them and to plan ways of realizing their hopes for educational change, the result may be better understanding of each others' schools and ideas, an increase in ability to relate to one another, and corresponding increases in ability to affect system-wide policy and implement constructive educational programs with respect to race relations.



Training Programs for Teachers and Principals

Precisely because integration is a new form of schooling, it requires personnel capable of doing new things in new ways. Consequently, adequate preparation should include programs to retrain or supplement the training of teachers and principals. Discussions in previous chapters have indicated reasons for training programs:

1) The cultural heritage of mutual ignorance and distance, if not antagonism and fear, between the races probably is present in the minds and views of all Americans. Therefore, teachers and principals need help in dealing with their own views of people of another race in order to work well in school.
2) Few schools of education have offered courses centered on racial issues in education. Most administrators and teachers, therefore, are not prepared by their preservice experience or training for the managerial and instructional challenges of integration.
3) There is a shortage of clearly defined and well-tested procedures for managing or teaching an interracial school or classroom.
4) Few professional peers have had the experience of teaching an interracial class or managing an interracial staff. Therefore, educators find few colleagues with whom to share fears, hopes, tactics, successes, and failures.
5) Emotionally loaded issues place a great burden upon the principal to be an effective professional leader and to offer help and support to the staff.
6) New forms of school relations with local communities and parents must be built.

Educators unaccustomed to positive racial interaction must first become aware and deal with their own reactions to people of another race. Serious examination may not change views, but it may help teachers and principals understand the potential effects of their views and control their expression. Then teachers and principals may be free to experiment with new forms of teaching or working with persons of other races or cultural backgrounds.

A training program might attempt to clarify and explain characteristic attitudes and behaviors of youngsters in the classroom. This might be done, in part, by reviewing the cultural styles or biases in the youngsters' or group of youngsters' families or backgrounds. Of course, overgeneralization and reverse stereotypes have to be avoided.

While it is often assumed that knowledge of oneself, one's role, and one's students will lead directly to improved classroom practice, many teachers and principals fail to act in accordance with increased knowledge or new intentions. The failure may be due to lack of motivation, lack of skill, or other barriers which must be considered and attacked for training to be effective.

The traditional notion that a teacher

is and should be a fully autonomous professional prevents many people from seeking help. Asking for help sometimes is interpreted as a sign of weakness or incompetence, and giving help sometimes is interpreted as "butting in" or "being a know-it-all." The risk is that those who help may appear arrogant and omniscient rather than supportive. Teachers would do well to begin with the recognition that they do have significant expertise in how to teach, and that their talents can be shared and augmented through training in intergroup relations.

With these training objectives, several different strategies can be employed. The list of strategies included here is merely illustrative and should not be viewed as either the actual or potential range of current retraining methods.

STRATEGIES FOR RETRAINING EDUCATORS

Although teachers are inundated annually with books presenting every conceivable type of message, few of these books have centered explicitly on what to do in an interracial classroom,* and even these are limited. Distillations and abstractions of experience only rarely are provocative or practical, and there is no clear evidence that such material can contribute to instructional change, since reading about new ideas does not necessarily create the set of complex skills required to translate ideas into classroom activities. Instead, such works can stimulate the creation of other strategies or serve as reference works.

*Some that do discuss these issues include: Gertrude Noar, *The Teacher and Integration*, Washington, D.C., National Education Association, 1966; Margaret Anderson, *The Children of the South*, N.Y., Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1966; and H. H. Giles, *The Integrated Classroom*, N.Y., Basic Books, 1959.

Films, photographs, or recordings have similar limitations. They can and should be accompanied by discussions or demonstrations of their implications for the classroom. For instance, if a group of teachers have just read the book on Southern school desegregation, *Children of Crisis*, they might consider the following questions:*

1) How did Mrs. Lawrence's past (as a middle-aged white teacher brought up in the South) differ from yours? How different are her classroom ideas and practices?
2) Why does Miss Simpson feel the way she does about desegregation? To what extent do you share her views?
3) How do you think these two teachers would teach differently when working with frightened and low-achieving Negro youngsters?

A discussion of these issues would help teachers interpret and apply the ideas presented in the book to their own practices. Reading alone cannot provide this bridge to action.

Principals reading this same book might discuss the following questions among themselves or with teachers:

1) What are some of the problems Mrs. Lawrence and Miss Simpson might have working together?
2) What can each of these two teachers learn from one another?
3) If you were a principal who had both of them on your staff, how would you help them talk to one another?

Raising and discussing such questions in a group of peers or through role playing adds further to the range of views any one person may suggest. Some teachers need to learn how to talk directly with peers. Practice in giving and receiving feedback, in observing each others' classrooms, and in coping with differences in teaching ideologies would help increase their skills. Sharing is more than exchange of information; although educators often talk together their conversations too seldom add to the development of professional skill and expertise. Some teachers and principals have developed creative ways of responding to interracial situations; the rest of the profession desperately needs to learn from their experience. Formal opportunities for professional sharing encourage deliberate rather than casual conversation.

*Robert Coles, *Children of Crisis*, Boston, Atlantic Little Brown, 1964.

The principal who wishes to encourage sharing among teachers must develop: 1) recognition by the staff of a "need to know" what others are doing, a need to fill the gaps in common ignorance; 2) a climate within the school of interpersonal intimacy and trust among colleagues so that difficulties can be admitted and resources shared without competition and judgment. The greatest number of innovations and sharing of ideas is likely to occur in schools that offer planned opportunities for professional dialogue and interaction, enhanced feelings of involvement and influence in school policymaking, and support from teachers' peer groups and principals. Moreover, teachers who learn about new practices under these conditions are more likely to adopt or to adapt them for their classroom.

Principals need training in the procedures by which they can encourage this kind of climate. Their training might encompass exposure to new techniques of educational management and an opportunity to practice these techniques in a simulated or actual situation. Training programs to improve principals' skills also

should include a component for sharing ideas. Principals, like teachers, need to discover and refine creative expressions of each others' talents. Such exchange requires both an analysis of the barriers to open exchange and practice reducing them cooperatively.

Research from industry and goverr. ment stresses the value of professional decisionmaking groups in creating feelings of social cohesiveness, a sense of adequacy of performance, and satisfaction with one's work. Training can assist teachers to work in planning teams to: 1) help identify classroom problems, 2) diagnose school needs, and 3) establish support for change. The skills required for these group tasks can be taught. Teachers and administrators may be influenced to use the new expertise to revise school organization, but different structures are not likely to be very effective without the necessary social and organizational skills.

Renewal or retraining may utilize a "confrontation-search" design. A dilemma or serious problem is presented as realistically as possible, so participants are compelled to respond in unfamiliar ways. For example, a white teacher may be presented with black students' distrust or disapproval, with class failure, or with the alienation of black colleagues. A black teacher may be shown a black child brutalized by a white janitor, or the reverse. Principals may hear a tape recording of black and white youngsters or teachers describing the first days of desegregated schooling. Participants then are offered a range of resource materials potentially applicable to elaborating, investigating, and/or resolving the confrontation. Search or resource materials for educators faced with these confrontations might include colleagues who have had such experiences, compendia of potentially useful classroom practices, social science reports, names of parents and community leaders, and youngsters.

Laboratory training devices, particularly sensitivity training groups, are also used to develop skills of teachers and principals. "Sensitivity" groups may differ in their focus, from intrapersonal or interpersonal dynamics to skills in classroom management and organization development. However, all groups attempt to help members to give and receive feedback and to consider making changes in their own styles through an analysis of what they feel and observe in their small group. Sufficient interpersonal trust may enable persons to be more honest and open about their personal or controversial views on racial matters. Such openness is probably a precondition for testing one's views, getting feedback and clarification, and trying out new behavior. Training in sensitivity and human relations has been used to increase racial insight among black and white adults, between adults and students, and between teachers and principals.

Most advocates of laboratory training no longer think the sensitivity training group should be the sole device for reeducation. Role playing, simulations of school and classroom dynamics, and skill practice exercises are techniques also used in comprehensive efforts to help educators learn new skills. Giving and receiving feedback, providing helpful consultation to colleagues, value clarification, conflict resolution, and listening are some of the skills in human relations which can improve teaching.

The same techniques have been used to prepare teachers for serving on interracial faculties. Principals who learn them along with interracial groups of teachers may be better able to follow them in their own schools.

One strategy for educational change involves the collection of data about the attitudes or interactions in a school or community and the feedback of that data, with interpretations, into the school. Teachers or principals who can see the results of their own behavior may desire to alter it in ways more fulfilling and satisfying for them. Usually scientists collect the data and share their findings with practitioners, as have Ned Flanders and his colleagues.* Within the classroom, the scholars collect extensive information about the patterns of conversation among students and between students and teachers. When these data are shared, the teacher is urged to consider whether the pattern is consistent with his or her and researchers' ideas about a "good" classroom. Without access to this picture of the classroom, many teachers would not be motivated to make changes; many others would not know what changes were needed. Similarly data collected from teachers can help principals understand their schools' problems. It would be useful for training programs to train teachers and principals to collect and use this kind of information on their own.

Data about classrooms may be woven into a long-range program involving the use of personal or organizational systems of problem solving. A coherent and useful preparation for the problem solving process would include training in: 1) identifying classroom problems; 2) diagnosing classroom problems; 3) developing plans; 4) taking action; and 5) getting feedback and evaluations. This approach stresses step-by-step analyses of the current situation before action is taken. When teachers have often

*Ned Flanders, *Helping Teachers Change Their Behavior*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, University of Michigan, School of Education, 1965.

operated purely by intuition or tradition there is every possibility that classroom teaching can be dramatically improved through training in this process. Similar models of rational problem solving can be used by principals alone or with members of a school staff. It is hoped that after skills of this sort have been learned, teachers or administrators will continue to apply them in new situations.

Scientists concerned with ways of utilizing the behavioral sciences to improve education have followed the procedure of presenting one or more research findings relevant to the management of an interracial class or school. Teachers have then derived implications for their own classroom. For instance, one research finding is that persons from divergent racial or ethnic groups may be able to collaborate if a situation encourages them to commit themselves to goals that are of a higher priority than personal or subgroup goals or fears. Deriving classroom practices from this finding involves specifying what the terms mean for the classroom and devising instructional programs that create superordinate goals. For example, what are some natural goals of diverse groups in the classroom? What could be a superordinate goal? A class that takes communal responsibility for raising funds for a war orphan might so commit every person to this work that other problems in social interaction would become secondary. Boys and girls, rival club members, blacks and whites, and students and teachers all may be able to overcome antagonism and separation in their attempt to attain this common goal. As they do so they may collaborate in ways that affect other elements of classroom life.

The reverse of the above process can also be useful. A teacher may identify a problem and articulate some needs for research relevant to its resolution. When the scientist presents knowledge gained in these areas, the derivation process can begin again. Teachers or principals who undergo training in research derivation will need to know how to get access to scientific knowledge. This is not the same as becoming knowledgeable, and is important because information in the field of education is always becoming obsolete. A special skill is required to obtain new knowledge and to translate it into new educational methods or organizations. Sometimes educational consultants can be very helpful to teachers or principals attempting to find and use research results.

An external consultant may be employed to help deal with many of the problems related to racial change in the schools. Unfortunately, many leaders of school systems request temporary and external agents to *solve* their problems. Most of the time the impossibility of this task is obvious even to the most casual observer. Sometimes, however, teachers' needs to be helped and consultants' desires to help overcome common sense. If consultants are committed to a person's or a system's continuing ability to grow and develop, the consultation process must teach teachers and principals ways of solving their own problems. This clearly cannot be accomplished by a quick meal of all the "right" answers, even if a menu were available. It would be more helpful to train educational practitioners in "how to use a consultant." A particularly useful way to employ the consultant's expertise is in the design of training programs like those described above. A panel of consultants from various institutions or disciplines might bring multiple and diverse resources into the training plans.

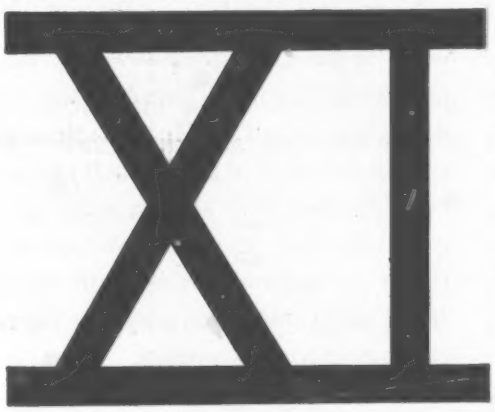
Retraining strategies are not mutually exclusive; in fact, the most effective designs may include a mix of several strategies. For example, a teacher's knowledge about youngsters from minority groups can be improved by reading, reviewing survey data on his or her own class, engaging in research retrieval activities, or talking with other teachers who work with similar students. A teacher's own views on racial matters may be best dealt with through laboratory training or feedback from surveys, since the normal resistance to honest discussions of touchy issues may create barriers against the use of books, other teachers, and consultants. Principals' desires to learn new management skills could be increased by conferences on research findings or opportunities to share ideas with colleagues. Learning to work differently with students of different races, however, probably requires a more personal and intensive type of training which includes encounters with youngsters and adults of different races and simulated situations. Any particular course of action will be a unique blend of strategies designed with each system's special characteristics and goals in mind. The selection and combination of particular elements of the design is a task which requires considerable skill and experience. It might be well for a school system to begin by experimenting with several small programs, each with a different combination of elements.

Some of the strategies described above have been used in 1-day, 2-day, 1-week, or 1-month programs. While the longer programs permit more extended inquiry and practice, they are not always feasible. Nevertheless, one-shot affairs and isolated training institutes provide little opportunity to create new classroom behaviors or new organizational

forms. Teachers who are attempting change need the continuing support provided by a series of meetings and a commitment by the entire school system.

After-school training sessions, whether voluntary or mandatory, inevitably meet with resistance on the part of an already overworked staff, and voluntary programs often fail to reach those most in need of retraining. Consequently, it might be more effective to conduct training sessions during school time and to release students from classes, with administrative approval.

Training should not be allowed to become a way of avoiding other changes in the school. Sometimes teacher training is offered as an outward indication of interest, when in fact there is no serious intention to achieve integration. The seriousness of educators' intentions is marked, not by a few visible innovations but by the continuing, systematic planning and support of new forms of racial relations in school.



Changing Professional Roles and Structures

A principal or teacher may take various steps to restructure or rearrange aspects of school life in order to support students' efforts to learn within the context of an interracial environment. The principal may see to it that teachers and administrators spend less time in routine and clerical duties and more time in activities directly related to teaching and learning. A teacher may be scheduled time during the school day to plan and evaluate classroom innovations. Teachers and students may be asked to create instructional forms that use students' time in new and different ways or that encourage students to collaborate with peers of another race.

THE PRINCIPAL AND PARTICIPATIVE MANAGEMENT

The principal whose goal is integration should consider broadening the base of participation in school management. Management procedures that involve teachers and students in making and implementing basic school policy ensure greater commitment of all school members. Ordinarily, principals follow tradition by making the important rules and policies and expecting other school members to abide by them. The process of integration increases the problems of this hierarchical style while enhancing the potential for participative decisionmaking.

Participatory management sometimes is interpreted as "handing over" the school to student or faculty groups. It is as though decisionmaking power were something you "have" or "don't have," so that if someone "takes" more than he "has," you "have" that much less. There are two fallacies in this interpretation. First, the power to guide behavior through standards of reward and punishment for specific acts is not the same as the power to influence people to spend time and energy fulfilling school goals. The latter seems to us more appropriate for an educational system. When students and teachers clearly have influence in setting and establishing standards, they are more likely to follow them in ways that support school goals. Second, power among school members is shared in a variety of ways in any form of management. Some decisions can be made by the principal alone; some by the principal and other members jointly; some by the principal with the advice of others; and some by other people without the principal at all.

In desegregated schools with traditional patterns of decisionmaking, teachers or principals seldom have an accurate idea of their students', particularly black students', feelings and actions. Nor does autonomous control of the classroom encourage teachers to work on common problems together. Students frequently are willing to work together but are not rewarded for such cooperation by any power to create change in school. Consequences of this lack of coordination and communication include: 1) decisions which might have been wiser or more realistic as a result of faculty and student contributions; 2) decisions which alienate teachers and students; 3) minimal commitment of teachers and students to actions which support the principal's policies; and 4) serious disruption of educational processes by strikes, demonstrations, and apathy.

These are common problems where decisionmaking is centralized and one leader has most of the power. The leader relates to others in the organization individually, an arrangement which gives them little feeling of influence on policies and tempts them to withdraw rather than to organize for positive reforms when decisions are not to their liking. Information which would be helpful in making decisions may be withheld or at least not freely offered. Moreover, those who feel they have little

part in the organization rarely make the effort to innovate or to deviate from routine procedures in the attempt to further the organization's interests. Even in a school the "consent of the governed" is a crucial element in organizational effectiveness, for subordinates may feel that decisions made without their consent don't apply to them. Attempts to subvert or evade rules and standards may arise from the feeling that suggestions and persuasion are ignored. Teachers may express their alienation by making "dummy" lesson plans, overlooking various infractions, secretly "rapping" with students, denying problems, etc. Student disaffection may be reflected in cheating or illegal cooperation on school work, low achievement and morale, tardiness and absence, fighting with each other, and demonstrating against objectionable rules or faculty and administrative behavior.

Organizational stresses are increased by the extraordinary requirements of integration. Energy and devotion above and beyond attention to traditional procedures are required to understand racial feelings, even when painful; to make accommodations for different cultural styles, even when discomforting; and to adapt procedures to a pluralistic school membership, even when time-consuming. Further, integration requires collaboration and cooperation within teacher and student peer groups. Interracial education usually brings together people with substantial differences in norms and great differences in experiences. Knowledge of and response to the perspectives of all these groups are particularly crucial where there are potential problems in their relationships as among black and white students and teachers. Thus, full involvement of teachers and students in decisionmaking in integrated schools is imperative.

A variety of mechanisms may be established for student or faculty participation in school management. Merely appointing or electing several students or faculty members to governing boards is not sufficient. Representatives must be publicly linked to their constituencies and be accountable to them so that representation from faculty and student groups is genuine. Administrators may keep students and teachers informed, seek their opinions and advice, establish problem solving groups to provide policy alternatives, and share control of opportunities to revise policies. The latter alternatives clearly require new structures and systems of representation.

Time must be allowed within the school day for meetings, elections, forums, and other sessions required to arrive at group decisions. Political and educational activities accomplished on volunteered time or after school are subject to failure, since representation that depends upon leftover energy lacks legitimacy and is likely to suffer when other demands arise. Training programs should be established so that all personnel can learn to function effectively in such a system to fulfill their individual and common desires for quality integrated education.

Just as students and teachers should participate in new patterns of school management, parents and community agencies also must be involved in local school policy decisions. The growing popularity of local control and decentralization movements indicate that parents' involvement and support and a community's control of its schools are important at all times, but this is true especially in integrated situations. The nature of race relations in school depends on the degree to which parents support and encourage youngsters to relate to students of another race. To lend such support most effectively, parents should know about and help formulate positive racial programs for the school and classroom. Public forums, problem solving groups, and decisionmaking councils represent points on a continuum of parent participation and control. Black and white parents may discover other ways of collaborating in the development of constructive programs. The demonstration of parental influence in racial matters at school also may have positive effects on race relations elsewhere in the community.

RESTRUCTURING THE TEACHER'S ROLE

If the teacher's time is one of the key resources for creative and flexible instruction, the principal clearly is in a position to expand this resource. Special personnel may be employed to release a teacher from some of the usual classroom duties. The use of college students as tutors to elementary and high school youth and the use of parents and other paraprofessionals from the community as teachers' aides should release teachers for several hours a week, during which they might meet together to plan their approach to the classroom, renew themselves to work on their task with more vigor and creativity, and share ideas so as to learn from each others' experiences.

A principal may influence teachers' use of time by exempting certain teachers or all teachers from some tedious, routine administrative details and assigning these chores to students or secretarial personnel.

The school day might be revised so that teachers are in class only 4 hours a day or 4 days a week and can use the rest of the time for reflection, planning, meetings, or informal voluntary sessions with students.

Classes might be dismissed or different personnel placed in the classroom to make this time available. Otherwise, teachers will continue to be too tired and rushed to plan and try new and creative methods. The role of the teacher as a channel of resources for certain predetermined topics may be expanded by a new role in which the teacher serves to confront and interpret current racial phenomena.

Some teachers and students may function best informally and outside the classroom. Administrative support for them could include the principal's encouragement of instruction in the streets or the parks. Classes often can be held outside the formal walls of the school, particularly when major portions of the community already support integration. Disapproving community residents may learn to accept the reality of racially mixed groups of students walking, playing, and learning together outside the school's boundaries.

Such measures make clear the principal's commitment and interest in creatively dealing with racial matters.

THE MODIFICATION OF LEARNING STRUCTURES

Changes in the roles of principals and teachers create new learning opportunities for students. Present curriculums limit the range of student activities in both content and style, and typical classroom procedures provide similar and often necessary constraints. Expanding the range of self-directed, individualistic, and experimental learning could greatly enhance students' interest in interracial education.

Most black and white students have a great curiosity about one another. Underneath fear, confusion, and sometimes hate lies an intense desire to discover what other people are like. These inquiries are at the root of learning; they are nurtured most effectively in a classroom atmosphere of trust and comfort. Students who are defensive in their lack of peer support, who feel rushed to achieve the next curriculum objective, and who view themselves as imprisoned by the school and teacher will not be able to relate creatively to others. The classroom will be larger than life when it is close to life; that is, when youngsters are free to explore issues that are real to them. Individualized instruction can be supported by independent study, modular scheduling, out-of-class projects, and a flexible curriculum. In this day and age, however, many youngsters will not accept self-directed opportunities even if they are offered. Their prior conditioning for passivity is so strong that they first must learn how to use freedom instead of how to escape from it. Teachers can help students define their own objectives and plan new ways of teaching and learning. They can help rearrange the school day, classroom procedures, and curriculum structures to permit youngsters to go about their work with minimum restraint.

In many high schools, students have developed and taught courses for peers in such subjects as jazz, folk music, the city, drugs, race relations, and the draft. All of these topics touch aspects of race relations and the problems of youth in our society and could contribute significantly to positive racial interaction about educational matters.

Shortening the school day or week could have many positive benefits for youngsters as well as for teachers. It is probable that the most effective planned learning occurs in 2 or 3 hours of intense concentration. Recognition of this reality of energy expenditure would permit the detailed planning of a short, intense session of formal learning and would encourage freer informal exploration at other times. With proper preparation for the use of learning opportunities students could avoid waste, chaos, or intellectual anarchy.

XII

Bibliographic Summary

The following books, articles, and pamphlets were selected for their special value to educators planning to implement integration. Some items center on school integration; others deal with education and integration in more general ways. This list is neither large nor exhaustive, since our Nation's sparse experience with integration has produced relatively few reliable and instructive materials.

The following two books are broad in scope and include many of the human reactions which emerge from interracial association in school.

Coles, R. *Children of Crisis.* Boston, Atlantic Little Brown & Co., 1967.

Weinberg, M. *Integrated Education.* Beverly Hills, The Glencoe Press, 1968.

Integration is predicated upon some degree of desegregation. The more successful and widespread the pattern of desegregation, the easier will

be the planning for integration. Some of the issues involved in creating and implementing effective desegregation plans are examined in:

Chesler, M., Guskin, J., and Erenberg, P. *Planning Educational Change: Vol. II: Human Resources in School Desegregation.* Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1969.

Crain, R. *The Politics of School Desegregation.* Chicago, Aldine Publishing Co., 1968.

Mack, R. *Our Children's Burden.* New York, Vintage, 196[illegible].

Planning Educational Change: Vol. I. Technical Aspects of School Desegregation. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1969.

Planning Educational Change: Vol. IV. How Five School Systems Desegregated. Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1969.

Sullivan, N. "Desegregation Techniques." *Educational Parks: Clearinghouse Publication #9.* Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1967.

A few school systems have developed and experimented with detailed plans beyond desegregation and have initiated racial or cultural integration. Their experiences may be helpful to other systems just beginning to deal with the complex problems of change. Case studies of plans or experiences in school integration are reported in the following:

Bouma, D., and Hoffman, J. *The Dynamics of School Integration.* Grand Rapids, Michigan, W. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1968.

Edwards, T., and Wirt, F. (editors). *School Desegregation in the North.* San Francisco, Chandler, 1967.

Hendrick, I. *The Development of a School Integration Plan in Riverside, California. A History and Perspective.* Riverside, California, 1968.

Successful planning for school change is the first step in achieving integration. Although integration raises many specific problems and opportunities, it must be considered within the larger context of educational change. Racial mixture without a general increase in the quality of schooling is not a prized educational objective. Planning for school improvement involves establishing clear goals, performing a concise diagnosis of the situation, developing new administrative or classroom strategies, and testing them in practice. The following sources should be helpful to educators engaging in planned change:

Lippitt, R., Watson, J., and Westley, B. *The Dynamics of Planned Change.* New York, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1958.

Schmuck, R., Chesler, M., and Lippitt, R. *Problem Solving to Improve Classroom Learning.* Chicago, Science Research Associates, 1966.

Schmuck, R., Fox, R., and Luszki, M. *Diagnosing Classroom Learning Environments.* Chicago, Science Research Associates, 1966.

Watson, G. (editor). *Change in School Systems.* Washington, D.C., National Training Laboratories, National Education Association, 1968.

The teacher is probably the single most important influence in the integrated classroom. Interpersonal relations with students, curricular organization, and skills in classroom management all influence the quality of race relations among students in a particular class. Several books and articles present ways in which teachers can facilitate positive race relations in the classroom:

Noar, G. *The Teacher and Integration.* Washington, D.C., National Education Association, 1966.

Giles, H. *The Integrated Classroom.* New York, Basic Books, 1959.

Curriculum and instructional processes are examined in:

Beck, J., and Saxe, R. (editors). *Teaching the Culturally Deprived Pupil.* Springfield, Ill., Charles C. Thomas, 1965.

Bone, R. "Negro Literature in the Secondary School: Problem and Perspectives." *English Journal.* 1969, April.

Hamilton, C. *Curricular Changes to Meet the Needs of a Black Society.* Washington, D.C., American Association for Higher Education, 1969.

Katz, I. "Desegregation or Integration in Public Schools? The Policy Implications of Research." *National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunities in America's Cities.* Washington, D.C., U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

Many teachers doubt their ability to teach in an interracial classroom. Ideological objection to integration and ignorance or fear of people of another race or culture multiply their problems. The educator who wishes to anticipate some of the problems teachers may have with respect to

integration may consult the following:

Coleman, J., and others. *Equality of Educational Opportunity.* Washington, D.C., United States Government Printing Office, 1966.

Haubrich, V. "Teachers for Big City Schools." *Education in Depressed Areas,* H. Passow (editor). New York, Columbia University, 1963.

Rosenthal, R., and Jacobsen, L. *Pygmalion in the Classroom.* New York, Holt, 1968.

Winecoff, L., and Kelly, E. "Teachers, Free of Prejudice?" *Integrated Education.* 1969, May-June.

As chief administrator and educational leader of the school, the principal has responsibilities to students, teachers, and other staff members. In addition to duties in the school, the principal is frequently a community organizer working with parents, service groups, and public agencies. Principals are likely to face other problems working with other school leaders and the central administration of a school system. Some potentially helpful sources are:

Doherty, J. "The Black Administrator." *School Management.* 1969, March.

Lipton, A. "Day to Day Problems of School Integration." *Integrated Education.* 1965, p. 3.

Swanson, B. "The Political Feasibility of Planning for School Integration." *Integrated Education.* 1967, p. 5.

Although students are only one group to benefit from new forms of interracial living, it is important to understand their feelings and reactions. The following provide information about students' reactions and experiences in interracial settings:

Chesler, M. *In Their Own Words.* Atlanta, Southern Regional Council, 1967.

Coles, R. *Children in Crisis.* Boston, Atlantic, Little, Brown & Co., 1967.

Harrington, J. "L.A.'s Student Blowout." *Phi Delta Kappa.* 1968, October.

Wasserman, M., and Reinmann, J. "Student Rebels vs. School Defenders: A Partisan Account." *The Urban Review.* 1969, p. 4.

Educators will need new resources and skills to meet effectively the complex challenges of school integration. Therefore, retraining or skill development programs for teachers and principals probably are essential components of an integration program. Some special training programs are described in:

Chesler, M. "Teacher Training Designs for Improving Instruction in Interracial Classrooms." *National Conference on Equal Educational Opportunity in America's Cities.* Washington, D.C., U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

Cottles, T. "Strategy for Change." *Saturday Review.* 1969, September.

Flanders, N. *Helping Teachers Change Their Behavior.* Ann Arbor, University of Michigan School of Education, 1965.

Haubrick, V. "Preparing Teachers for Disadvantaged Youth." *Racial Crises in American Education,* R. Green (editor). Chicago, Follett Educational Corporation, 1969.

The changes required by school integration may demand alterations in the very fabric of the school. New managerial and instructional structures relevant to the problems of school integration are discussed in:

Bowman, G., and Klopf, G. *New Careers and Roles in the American Schools.* New York, Bank St. College of Education, 1969.

Mann, E. "A New School for the Ghetto." *Our Generation,* 1967.

Newmann, F. "Political Socialization in the Schools." *Harvard Education Review.* 1968, p. 38.

"Student Involvement." *Nation's Schools.* 1969, p. 84.

Wilcox, P. "The Thrust Toward Community Control of the Schools in Black Communities." *Racial Crisis in American Education,* R. Green (editor). Chicago, Follett Educational Corporation, 1969.

Several agencies, including local desegregation centers sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education in universities across the country, now are providing training programs for both professional and nonprofessional personnel. Most of these centers are located in the South and may be especially relevant to Mid- and Deep South communities. Various regional educational laboratories and research and development centers, also sponsored by the U.S. Office of Education, may offer appropriate and useful counsel. Although they are not concerned exclusively with problems of school desegregation, they do have a greater interest in applied matters than most research institutions and universities. Information and special services may also be obtained from such agencies as: the Federal and regional offices of the Community Relations Service (Department of

Justice); Federal and State commissions on civil rights; professional State and national organizations such as the American Federation of Teachers, National Education Association, and Association of Afro-American Educators; public service organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Regional Council; and special training and consultant systems such as the National Training Laboratories' Institute for Applied Behavioral Science.

In calling upon any consultant or consultant agency, the principal or teacher should keep several points in mind. First, the local system alone retains professional and political responsibility for what happens in the school or class. Second, most consultants have their own bias or point of view which must be considered in their selection and utilization. Third, a consultant's visit must be planned, or valuable time may be wasted. Preparations include provision of enough information so that the consultant can prepare to offer specific help. Finally, the educator must plan ways to adopt the consultant's recommendations as part of a continuing program for change in racial relations.

The educator who decides to move forward aggressively can mobilize staffs and communities to make new ideas feasible and practicable. Principals can garner new community resources and restructure the teaching and learning environment for all parties. Teachers can experiment with new approaches to the classroom and aid in the development of positive race relations. Together educators and students, professionals and lay personnel may be able to create the continuing commitment to racial change that is necessary for positive academic achievement and a superior quality of life in our Nation's schools.

APPENDIXES

A. Diagnosis of the Class

B. Role Playing in Class

C. Curriculum on Racism

D. Class Discussions of Feelings and Perceptions

E. Diagnosis of School-Wide Sentiment

F. Principal Designs for Problem Solving

G. Suggestions for Using the Record

Appendix A: Diagnosis of the Class

Mrs. Uribo, a 9th grade science teacher in a small southwestern school system, wanted to discover students' perceptions of her as a teacher. She administered a questionnaire about 3 weeks after the beginning of the semester, when the students had an idea of her approach and style. Students were told the meaning and purpose of feedback and were asked to be as honest as possible. The questionnaires were returned anonymously, and the results were compared with her own answers to an identical questionnaire.

The following items are samples from her questionnaire.

Teacher and Student Feedback to the Teacher:	A. Almost always	B. Sometimes	C. Almost never
1. Do I call on you when you raise your hands?			
2. Do I tell you my own opinions in ways that influence your answers to questions?			
3. Do I listen to and accept your opinions?			
4. Am I open to criticism?			
5. Am I available to all students in the class?			
6. Do I behave differently with students of different races or backgrounds?			
7. Do I demonstrate to students that I care about you?			

Mrs. Uribo was surprised at some of the differences between her own responses and those of the class. She felt she needed some more specific information, so she asked students to respond to these additional questions.

Instructions to class: Please be as specific as you can, giving some examples. Please be honest. Your answers will help me be a more effective teacher.

1. How do I act when you criticize me?
2. How do I act to make you think I do not care about you? How could I show that I do?
3. What actions or words have demonstrated that I behave differently with students of different cultures or races?

With this information, Mrs. Uribo had a clearer understanding of how some of her actions, which she had previously believed were fair and unbiased, hindered some students from learning at their full potential. She made a concerted effort to change her behavior, and 1 week before the end of the term she administered a final questionnaire. She asked the same questions as on the first questionnaire but substituted the following choice of responses:

a. more than I did at the beginning of the term
b. as much as I did at the beginning of the term
c. less than I did at the beginning of the term
d. never

* * *

Mr. Sanders, a history teacher in a large northern high school, was disappointed with his results of the previous year. He had found that the students were bored in class, seldom did the assigned work, and were not creative. Determined not to repeat his failure, Mr. Sanders asked his new class to help plan the curriculum, reminding them that he was required by law to cover the period of American history from the Civil War to the present. Before the class could plan, however, he suggested they had to decide what they wanted to do. To diagnose students' curriculum interests, Mr. Sanders asked each one to write a short essay telling what he or she would like to learn during the term. He also distributed the following questionnaire:

Instructions: Please mark those subjects which you would most like to learn more about this term.

	I would like to learn about this	I don't care	I would not like to study this
Civil War battles			
Slavery			
Political reconstruction			
Populism			
Black legislators after the Civil War			
Growth of "Jim Crow" segregation			
Presidents of the United States			
American Indians on the frontier			
Immigrant groups coming to U.S.			
Growth of urban life			
Economic development at turn of century			
19th century fashions			
Others:			

Mr. Sanders also asked the students to identify the kinds of instructional methods and materials they preferred. For example:

I like to—yes	I don't like to—no
_____ read textbooks	_____
_____ work with some of my friends on a separate project	_____
_____ work with lots of different classmates	_____
_____ work alone	_____
_____ use the library	_____
_____ write reports	_____
_____ present projects to the class	_____

I like to—yes	I don't like to—no
_____ draw and paint	_____
_____ act in plays	_____
Others:	

He tried to concentrate on those issues and methods which appealed to most students. He also decided to have a "free unit" of time for those people whose interests were not covered through the rest of the units in the depth they desired. Thus, if the students were accurate and honest in stating their preferences, they should have been working most of the time on something that a large portion of the class wanted to do. By asking detailed questions on the methods students wanted to use, he was able to design activities and arrange time schedules to accommodate special interests.

Toward midsemester Mr. Sanders wanted to know how the students felt about the class and subject matter. He asked them the following questions:

1. Have you enjoyed the work you have been doing this term?
   a. a little more than usual
   b. about the same as usual
   c. not as much as usual
   d. a lot more than usual
   e. much less than usual
2. Would you like to continue the course in the same way as we have been working? Yes____No____If No, what would you like to change? Be specific_____
3. When you're in this class, do you
   a. usually feel wide awake and very interested?
   b. feel pretty interested, bored part of the time?
   c. feel not very interested, bored quite a lot of the time?
   d. dislike it, feel bored and not interested at all?
4. How hard are you working these days on learning American history?
   a. very hard
   b. quite hard
   c. not very hard
   d. not hard at all

* * *

A 5th grade teacher, Miss Wilentz, recognized the existence of some serious interpersonal and intergroup problems among the students in her class. She wanted to understand some of these problems in order to create an environment where blacks and whites would feel comfortable working together and being friends with each other. She decided to begin by trying to discover what students felt about some of their classmates.

Instructions: Write in the space next to each question the way you would answer that question. Tell me just how you feel.

1. My parents told me that people with different colored skins are
   _____
2. Who are three people in this class you like the most?
   _____
3. Who are three people in the class you don't like?
   _____
4. What are the things that people do to make you angry?
   _____
5. How do you show someone that you like them?
   _____
6. How do you show someone that you want to study with them?
   _____
7. What are the things that you do when you are very angry?
   _____

With these data, Miss Wilentz was able to diagnose some patterns of friendship and rejection in class and to identify some of the barriers to interracial collaboration.

Appendix B: Role Playing in Class

A role play is essentially a short skit in which a dramatic situation or conflict is illustrated and examined. Participants assume roles and attempt to feel, think, and act like persons do in such roles. Each player has an opportunity to express and examine his feelings and actions within the safe environment of a fictitious personality and situation. Since discussion of the drama focuses on the role and not on the person, the actor does not have to discuss his personal feelings unless he wishes. When a person assumes an unfamiliar role, perhaps of another race, generation, or occupation, he may be able to experience the world of another.

The level and depth of role playing can vary, depending upon the nature of the issue under study and the age group of the participants. The issues may be life situations, such as personal problems, interpersonal problems, or reflections of social issues. Or they may be drawn from fictitious situations, historical or literary events. When role playing is at-

tempted for the first time or with a class unfamiliar with the method, there may be halfhearted portrayals of tense and emotionally threatening situations. Thus, it may be wise to begin by playing less volatile or more familiar kinds of situations. In any case, it is wise to deal eventually with emotionally charged issues and situations, since they provide some of the greatest opportunities for learning about feelings, stresses, and reactions in real life.

The first steps in classroom role playing are to select the situation and to prepare the class. The learning is most likely to improve interpersonal relations or classroom instruction if a role playing situation is selected in relation to the larger instructional design. Whether or not members of the class assist in selecting the situation, they need preparation to participate in it or to observe it. Warm encouragement, opportunity for practice, and detailed answers to questions should support those who will play the roles. Explaining the educational relevance of the role play may strengthen the students' engagement in the drama and discussion. Since the success of the role play depends upon wholehearted involvement by the players, it is generally useless to force participation. Volunteers should be called upon if possible. The general situation and status of players should be revealed to all class members, while detailed instructions may be given individually to the actors only. Finally, those who will observe the role play must be briefed. They may be asked to watch for specific events or actions or for the general interaction of the actors. Some members of the audience may try to consider how they would feel in the given situation.

Silence on the part of observers is necessary for participants to concentrate on their roles. Because persons not accustomed to acting may be self-conscious and have some difficulty becoming involved in the situation, it is essential to make the distinction between "audience" and "actors," and between self and role. It is sometimes helpful to have players "warm up" or practice things they might say in the roles until it is certain that they understand the instructions.

The role players should be helped out of their roles at the conclusion of the play. Sometimes younger children have difficulty separating the attitudes they express as part of the drama from their own, or the attitudes their family has from the ones prescribed in the scene. Consequently, it might be helpful to ask them how they feel now as compared to the way they felt or behaved when they were playing someone else during the role play.

After the role play is concluded, discussion may begin with observers' comments. Students may relate how they felt observing the scene and may report on the emotions, alternate forms of behavior, or additional problems the actors brought to their attention.

The players might be asked to describe their reactions to some of the things they said or did during the skit or to some of the things that were said or done to them. The discussion of the meaning of the performance might include:

a. feelings of students towards players and role behavior
b. consideration of how real or typical is the outcome or resolution of the issue in the skit
c. analysis of the process by which the outcome or resolution was reached
d. comparison of this situation with similar personal experiences of students and their feelings at the time
e. discussion of what students would like to see happen in such situations
f. exploration of alternative outcomes
g. if there is a favored outcome, discussion of how the pressures against it might be reduced.

Analysis of the play may lead to greater understanding of human behavior and an ability to modify behavior later when similar situations arise. During the final evaluation of a session, students may be asked to concentrate on lessons to be drawn from the experience about their own behavior. If extensive group exploration does not appear possible, students can be asked to write confidential notes to themselves. Since many of the interracial encounters between black and white students are influenced as much by outside forces (school policy and procedure or parental and peer pressure) as by student attitudes or values, the teacher must set aside time to help students cope with these pressures or plan to change them. If this is not done, role playing may be viewed as focusing on feelings alone rather than as a means of change in racial relations. One of the greatest advantages of role playing is the opportunity it offers people to practice new behavior before deciding whether to adopt it. If the players were not able to engage themselves in the scene, the teacher should lead an inquiry into what may have prevented their full participation. They may have needed a "warm-up" to get into the mood. Some students may have feared audience ridicule or rejection because of the threat of exposing their own beliefs and feelings. After everyone's

feelings are openly discussed and clarified, the students should be asked whether they wish to continue role play at the same level of involvement or to move into a more intense interaction, and whether it would be useful to repeat the initial scene or select another. Because success of the role play depends largely upon degree of involvement, the wishes of students should guide the teacher. If a scene is reenacted, instructions should be changed slightly to prevent players from repeating their previous pattern.

A CASE STUDY— UNDERSTANDING RACIAL PEER PRESSURES ON HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Selection of Problem: The teacher noticed that blacks and whites did not talk to each other in class and frequently did not even sit near each other or walk together. This bothered her because she believed that each group of students was being hindered in developing some friendships or academically beneficial relationships across racial lines. She observed the strength of intragroup peer influences and wondered if it could be part of the problem. Clearly, a situation with this theme could be played and replayed from several different points of view.

"Warm-up": The teacher asked students to mention some of the things they do when five or six friends are together and some of the things they do because "everybody else does it" or because they fear "I won't be part of the gang if I don't."

Explanation of General Situation: There are 140 black students in a recently desegregated school of 2300 students. One black girl is in the first period P.E. class. This black girl and a white girl are the first students on the playing field, and they talk together for a few minutes while waiting for the rest of the class. Then several more white girls come out to play.

Explanation of Roles: The teacher deliberately put a white girl in the role of a black girl, but chose students for the other roles without consideration of race. Instructions to the players were as follows:

> Sandra: You are a black girl who has come out early on the playing field. A white girl follows and comes over to talk.
>
> Judy: You are a white girl. You don't see what other people have against Negroes. They're newcomers and don't have any friends here. Still, Jill is a very popular girl and you do want to remain friends.
>
> Jill: You don't like Negroes. You don't believe white girls should talk to them. Judy is your friend and you don't want her to talk to Sandra.
>
> Laura: Jill is your friend. You don't mind talking to Negroes, but you wouldn't want anyone to see you if you did.

Audience Roles: Part of the class was instructed to watch the black girl's reaction to what happens when all the white girls meet on the field. The rest of the class watched the three white girls, trying to understand why and how each acted and felt as she did.

Discussion: Questions emphasized the strength of peer pressures on many issues—friendship choices, attitudes and preferences for life styles, etc. The teacher asked each to say how he or she would have felt in the role of the lone student. Then they all talked about the feelings of the white student who did not agree with her friends but was afraid to lose a friendship with a popular girl in school.

Evaluation: It is important to evaluate the role play to understand if it meets the goals and purposes for which it was designed, in this case to shed light on some of the ways friends pressure each other in interracial relations. If the role play was not successful in accomplishing these ends it could be reenacted, perhaps by different players. Or the scene could remain the same but the roles could be modified. For instance, in this situation more black girls could be added to tell their peer that she should disregard the white girl. If students felt the roles were not real in their design or enactment, they could create more convincing examples or demonstrations of peer pressures.

SOME EXAMPLES OF INDIVIDUAL ROLE PLAYS:

1. Try to make the only black girl in your class feel comfortable in the largely white school to which she has just transferred.
2. Try to convince your mother to let you go to a party and sleep over night or spend the day with a friend of a different race.
3. Your friends teased you that you shouldn't be friendly with a member of another race. Show how you feel.
4. You are trying to tell a teacher that you don't like her treating you differently from the other students.
5. You are trying to tell the principal that the rules and regulations in the school do not respect the rights of a minority group.
6. You tell the principal that your teacher picks on (or favors) one racial group of students.

7. You are a black parent who tells the superintendent you don't want your child to go to a desegregated school.

SOME EXAMPLES OF ROLE PLAY SITUATIONS INVOLVING MORE THAN ONE ACTOR:

1. You are telling a friend that some of his actions could be considered racist. He maintains that he is what he is and can't help it. How does the conversation proceed?
2. You are the last one in the cafeteria, and the only seat is next to a person of another race. You dislike this person, but not because of his race. He notices that you hesitate to sit next to him, and he calls you a racist. What do you two do?
3. You are one of a few black students in school; you tell the principal that you don't feel comfortable and request a transfer to a school which has more blacks in it. He tries to tell you that color doesn't mean anything and that there are enough people at that school to make friends with. How does he say that and how do you answer him? Then what?
4. You are telling your history teacher that she is misrepresenting the story of Reconstruction. She actually is, but doesn't want to be told anything by a student and makes inflammatory remarks to you (about your skin color, political beliefs, or religion). How does the conversation proceed?
5. Several black students "rap" about the interracial scene in the elementary school.
6. Several white teachers talk with a black teacher about their problems in interracial classrooms.
7. Two black students and one white student all have Mr. Smith for a class.

Black student 1—You think Teacher Smith doesn't like black literature and often is hard on black students. You want to organize a protest.

Black student 2—You think Teacher Smith is often hard on black students and makes them look stupid in class. You would prefer to complain to the principal.

White student 1—You have been very friendly with Mr. Smith. You think the black students are more right than wrong.

8. You are a white student. You see a black acquaintance talking with a group of black students in the place where black students meet. You need to tell him you can't meet him during your free period. What do you do, and what happens then?

Appendix C: Curriculum on Racism

This manual has assumed that we live in a society replete with racial fears, hostilities, and ignorance. Our society's basic economic and political systems function with and take their toll in racially separate and often unjust institutional practices and personal behaviors. Thus, it is crucial to prepare students to recognize, confront, and rectify these racially discriminatory structures, acts, and innuendoes. There are several ways to learn about racism, but in order for any of them to be relevant, teachers must help students comprehend not only personal bigotry but also its roots and derivations in society and its institutions.

It is important to distinguish between individual prejudice and institutional racism. Prejudiced attitudes are most likely to be visible in discriminatory behavior or fears about race relations. It also is possible to be relatively free of personal prejudice but to act in ways which support racial injustice or inequity in the social or educational system. For example, a student might get along very well with his black classmates but be unaware that they are not eligible for certain scholarships or awards or are unlikely to get into college. Poor youngsters may have less chance of going to college, not because of any person's intentional bias but because the social system denies poor people the leisure, security, hope, and skills that encourage college attendance.

Although many history books sadly neglect or distort past events, American (as well as European and Latin American) history documents the systematic dehumanization of nonwhite persons. There were American institutions which did nothing to discourage the maintenance of slavery; among them were the church, legal and penal systems, education, and politics. The ante-bellum legal system for protecting white society and disarming blacks might be compared to more contemporary laws which have the same results. The manipulation and political exploitation of racial and ethnic groups also may be examined and discussed within the realm of American political history, specifically in relation to the Civil War, Reconstruction, and aspects of the Populist movement. Students can observe such recent phenomena as the relations between northern and southern wings of the various political parties.

Subtle racism in the North and black slavery or segregation in the South prior to and after the Civil War also could be studied. Leon Litwack's *North of Slavery* is an especially interesting source for lesson plans and curriculum on this topic. Other

good books on the history of race relations are: David Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*; Stanley Elkins, *Slavery*; Winthrop Jordan, *White Over Black*; Kenneth Stampp, *Peculiar Institution*; C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. Historic writings with different ideological viewpoints may illustrate that there are few "right" answers to historical interpretation.

Another approach to the same topic may draw upon literature which either incidentally or intentionally deals with race and racial attitudes. Mark Twain's characterization of Negroes may introduce younger students to the presence of negative images and stereotypes in literature. Students may want to discuss their emotional reactions to the ways in which Huckleberry Finn tricks Jim and has fun at Jim's expense. Folk tales like Bre'er Rabbit may introduce a discussion of imagery and symbolism based on the use of white and black. More mature readers could learn to recognize the messages of white-black, light-dark images in poetry, religious, and other serious literature. Readers of all ages should be aware of the high values our culture places on whiteness and their expression through language and behavior. The *Rightness of Whiteness* by Citron is an excellent monograph illustrating this concept.

Black writers have done some excellent books for older students about black men in white society. James Baldwin, Eldridge Cleaver, Malcolm X, Claude Brown, Richard Wright, and Ralph Ellison have captured many of the emotional and highly personal feelings of articulate, angry black men and women. Ellison's masterpiece relating black invisibility in white culture suggests many issues worthy of classroom study. Are most black Americans still invisible to the majority of white society? What can whites do to help themselves see blacks? What does a society do to a group it can't or won't see? Wright's Bigger Thomas, guilty of accidentally killing a white girl whose culture destroys him, will undoubtedly raise controversial classroom discussions. Which crime deserved more punishment, the blacks' or whites'? How would the law treat a black whose castration by whites caused him to kill unintentionally? How should the law treat blacks who are so frightened and intimidated by the white judicial system that they cannot see it in any but the most hostile light?

The autobiographies of Malcolm X and Claude Brown, suitable for many junior and senior high school students, illustrate a number of subtle issues whites ignore about black or brown ghetto life. What are the unique factors in background and outlook that influence these two men in later life? What insights about black ghetto culture does one get from either of these two authors that one doesn't get from the news media? Which account is probably more reliable? Why?

Care should be taken that the discussion is not limited to roles and behavior without examination of how the white society causes and perpetuates their characteristic patterns. Lillian Smith's *Killers of the Dream*, a sensitive portrayal of one southern white woman's struggle with her personal prejudices and her culture's racism, shows that studies of racism can focus on white characters as well as black ones. The teacher's most important task in using a thematic and analytic approach to literature is to help students perceive subtle differences and nuances, empathize, draw conclusions, and understand the author's point of view.

A third approach to the study of racism is to engage the class in searching for evidence of it. They could list any acts or situations they believe represent prejudice or racial exclusion, for example:

- walking away when someone of another race comes up to you
- using words like nigger, nigra, etc.
- using words reflecting attitudes that "he is different from other blacks because"—he is nice, polite, clean, smart, ambitious, affluent, etc.
- attempting to exclude minority groups from meetings
- low representation of black or brown minorities in certain attractive jobs
- concentration of minority group students in a low-achievement track
- assuming that all blacks or all whites behave in certain ways

Simultaneously they could look for evidence of systematic exclusion from any of society's opportunities with which students come in contact. They might ask, for example: Are there any black cheerleaders? lab assistants? school administrators? school board members? city council members? Is their church integrated? Are there any black store, restaurant, or gas station owners? How are blacks portrayed in TV and motion pictures today? How were they presented 10-20 years ago?

Still another approach is through the study of social standards and politics. Students could learn about franchise laws which were used to keep blacks from voting, including poll taxes, grandfather clauses, and extensive literacy tests. The class also could concentrate on gerrymandering patterns. Students could obtain maps of the city, county, or State and chart

the change in political, educational, and voting boundaries as compared to black mobility patterns. They could draw the public transportation routes, noting the locations of bus terminals and perhaps comparing their density to the socioeconomic composition of the neighborhood.

Introductory investigations of these topics will lead the students into the histories of their local social and economic institutions. They will begin to understand what is meant by "de facto segregation," "white supremacy," and "white privilege," as well as the distinction between "desegregation" and "integration" in the school or community. It is important to keep relating such institutional forms as resource allocation, occupation, and media representation to the personal feelings and views of students.

Guilt and self-flagellation are too often white persons' primary responses to their new awareness of our racial situation. Despite their growing awareness of the racism in our institutions and in individuals' feelings, students should be alleviated of their collective guilt and hatred and encouraged to change the social conditions which create them. Students do have influence and power in certain areas of school life (e.g., personal behavior, selection of cheerleaders and class leaders, perhaps curriculum content). They should be encouraged to use their dissatisfaction productively to confront inequity and work for change in their school or community.

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Appendix D: Class Discussion of Feelings and Perceptions

The teacher may decide to help students explore their feelings in detail for many reasons. Perhaps students appear silent and uncooperative; perhaps students appear obstreperous and defiant; perhaps class discussion wanders and contributions appear more competitive than inquiring; perhaps the teacher begins a conversation on racial issues and is met with silence. These situations occur in many classrooms, and every teacher recognizes them as uncomfortable. When they cannot be improved by better questions or a change in teaching methods, an exploration of feelings may be in order.

The process of inquiring into students' feelings demands a reciprocal honesty that cannot be attained if information is used later as incriminating evidence. For instance, trust cannot be depended upon to find why students really aren't doing their homework if the result is a lecture on why they should do their homework. Teachers and students alike must view the inquiry into feelings as an end in itself.

It is essential to separate feelings from opinions or beliefs. How people feel is a comment on their personal emotional state; it is not subject to judgments of right or wrong. When statements of feelings become "I feel you are bad," or "That's stupid," further inquiry is very difficult. Such negative judgments are destructive of open and collaborative learning, particularly when evaluation of others' motivations is the major topic. Acceptance of such judgments means confession or guilt, "I am stupid," or acknowledgement of weakness, "I do

that because I'm unhappy," and is unlikely when two parties are fighting each other. However, recognition and acknowledgment of statements of feeling, like "You do many things I dislike," or "When you talk like that, I get mad as the devil," require only acceptance that the other person indeed possesses those feelings. When statements of personal feelings are judged or denied, they tend to diminish. If "I don't trust whites" or "I don't like Negroes" is met with "That isn't nice" or "I'm sure you really don't feel that way," they are unlikely to be said and will be driven underground. For this reason, arousal of guilt is a poor tactic for changing racial views.

It is common for teachers to fear that such discussions will get out of hand. Generally "out of hand" means that people confront each other strongly, telling them who they are instead of discussing their feelings about them. Teachers fear that if students react strongly and emotionally to one another, there may be a fight or class warfare. Many techniques can be used to assure that confrontations take place on the basis of adequate information and that alternative resolutions for confrontation are considered. But there is no assurance that deep feelings of anger or hostility will not get out of hand, though they seldom explode under skillful leadership. In our experience, students who learn to deal with emotion-laden differences are less likely to resort to irrational violence. However, community pressures to separate and fight would render any guarantees naive, even in the best instructional process.

Some teachers stop discussions when they can no longer tolerate the high level of conflict, regardless of evidence that their students can. These teachers may want student discussion leaders to take charge, support their peers, and clarify any differences. Training of students for this role should be accompanied by efforts to reduce teachers' irrationai fears and to develop the skills to overcome their realistic fears.

When a student responds to another student's statement, the teacher must determine whether he has enough information to understand what has been said or whether he seems to be responding as though the student said something else. In addition, different students may ascribe different meanings to the same word. One student may use "prejudice" to refer to the belief that all blacks are biologically inferior, while another may view the term more broadly, with reference to a system in which blacks are in a position of lesser power. The teacher should be very attentive to different meanings of key words in conversations.

When misperceptions arise, the teacher may simply stop the conversation and announce that the speakers seem to have different assumptions: "I don't think you're talking about the same things," or "You're responding before you know what the other person is saying." It is helpful to specify the differences. If the distortion seems to be too strong for this approach, the teacher may suggest a "listening exercise." In this activity, students are paired and one person is asked to express his views on a given subject while the other listens and then repeats what he heard. The speaker indicates whether or not the listener's version is what he meant. If not, he tries to explain what he meant so that it will be understood correctly the next time. Then the roles are reversed. This exercise can involve a whole group of pairs or only two persons while the rest of the class observes.

Another listening exercise is "fishbowling," also useful when a small group seems afraid to speak up in the face of a larger one. One group meets in a circle while another group remains on the outside, listening. Generally, comments or questions from the outer group are prohibited, although it is possible to place an empty chair with the inner group where an outside member may sit to make a single statement. This permits individuals to contribute if they feel they must, without diverting the flow of conversation. Positions are reversed at least once to let the outer group have its say and the inner group observe.

A third technique is especially useful when the teacher thinks groups might be too emotional in direct discussion or when they have trouble beginning conversation. Two or more groups may meet separately and draw up two lists of short statements, one list indicating how they see the other group, and the second how they think the other group(s) sees them. Then the lists are posted or put on the blackboard so that both groups can look at them together. Some lists developed in a workshop by groups of black students and white students in an eastern high school are offered as illustrations:

LIST BY BLACK STUDENTS ABOUT BLACKS

Negroes are some of my best friends

The black Student Union is o.k.

Negroes have the same mentality as whites

LIST BY WHITE STUDENTS ABOUT WHITES

Keep to ourselves

Hesitant to speak out when blacks are around

More hesitant when faculty and administrators are present

Prejudiced

Playing along with people

Not saying exactly what's on our minds

Not trying to understand the problems of black students

Snobby

LIST BY WHITE STUDENTS ABOUT WHAT BLACKS THINK OF WHITES

False friendship

Submissive, passive

Resent Black Student Union

Friendly when there are many of them and few of you

Corny social atmosphere

Can't face reality

White people don't even want to be white

LIST BY BLACK STUDENTS ABOUT WHAT WHITES THINK OF BLACKS

Stay with themselves

Suspicious about what is going on

Ready to defend themselves

Arrogant

Knew what they wanted

Rebellious

Self-confident and cheerful

More open, direct, and sharp

Think basic and only problems are racial problems

More ready to stand up for what they believe

Disowning Uncle Toms

During the period of discussion one group may read its list and others may ask questions for clarification. Opinions, attacks, and defense are not permitted. After everyone understands the meaning of the various lists, discussion of issues can begin. Lists made for the first time often reflect stereotypes, and individuals may feel somewhat depressed by their derogatory nature, their narrowmindedness, and the distances they represent. But only when such stereotypes are in the open can they be examined and confronted. If students are told that differences are normal outcomes and perceptions and that discussion and exploration may lead to better relations in the future, initial depression may be somewhat alleviated.

These techniques are used primarily to encourage honesty in the exploration of strong feelings, to control the intensity and distortion in confrontation, and to help ensure that confrontation takes place on the basis of more adequate information. Obviously, the specific exercises need to be adapted to each special situation.

Appendix E: Diagnosis of School-Wide Sentiment

The ways in which administrators, faculty, students, or parents assess attitudes toward racial matters in school depend upon what information is desired. Simple observation and counting will show whether or not black and white students engage in informal conversation and games across racial lines. The observer can see the relative participation in various extracurricular activities and can easily discover whether voting procedures and patterns favor interracial representation or work against it. Observations of the faculty lunchroom or lounge will indicate the extent of interracial interaction among staff members.

Open-ended interviews are useful for analyzing different subgroups in the school and their feelings about the school and each other. A group of students may be selected at random or special groups representing different races, interests, or views may be singled out to obtain their opinions. Generally, students agree as to the identity of the important school groups and their leaders. Although their personal feelings about the groups may vary, there is little disagreement about who the central people are. The next and more difficult step is to discover the attitudes and orientations of leaders and others in these groups. Students will give information freely only if they are confident that the inquirer will not use the information against them. The principal has more power and, consequently, may find it more difficult to gain trust than a teacher, and a teacher may have more difficulty than student peers. If information given in trust is used for coercion or suppression, trust will vanish.

More information may be obtained from an interview which is used as a technique for understanding and clarifying the student's feelings and perceptions. Since the purpose of the interview is to determine what the interviewee is thinking, the interviewer should talk very little.

Open-ended questions are best for a relatively small survey. The items do not provide alternative answers, nor do they imply that one type of answer would be better than another. Thus, the respondent does not have to follow the interviewer's categories even though his own answers may be entirely different. Questions based on the interviewee's responses can be asked for clarification and to obtain more specific information. The interviewer may repeat or reword the response as a useful technique for

determining whether he has perceived the response accurately. It is wise to do this when the issue is emotionally charged, since the interviewer may unconsciously hear what he wants to hear.

Some examples of exploratory open-ended questions are:

If you could change things at school, what three things would you most like to change? Please tell them to me in order, with the most important one first.

1. _____
_____
_____
2. _____
_____
_____
3. _____
_____
_____

What do you think are the three most important things a good teacher should do? Please tell them to me in order, with the most important one first.

1. _____
_____
_____
2. _____
_____
_____
3. _____
_____
_____

Would you say that a young person who is now in grade school or high school is getting as good an education as young people did thirty (30) years ago, a better one, a worse one, or what?

a. In what ways are things better now?

b. In what ways were things better then?

Sometimes persons say that they are against having Negro and white youngsters in the same schools because it will lead to a lowering of school standards. What do you think of that?

What do they mean by a "lowering of standards"? Will desegregation lead to a lowering of these standards?

Formal surveys and questionnaires are more efficient for large numbers of students and teachers, since the items are highly structured. Alternative answers are listed so respondents can choose easily and quickly among them. Some examples follow:

Generally, how do students of different races get along with one another at your school? Please place a check in the box that best tells how often each thing happens.

How often?	Often (1)	Some times (2)	Never (3)
A. There are fights going to and from school.	☐	☐	☐
B. There are fights at school between students of different races.	☐	☐	☐
C. There is name calling at school.	☐	☐	☐
D. Students of different races ignore each other.	☐	☐	☐
E. Students of different races are friendly.	☐	☐	☐
F. There is cooperation and team work in class among students of different races.	☐	☐	☐

What are most of your friends like? Please place a check on the line in front of the statement that best tells your answer.

____ 1) All are black.

____ 2) More than half are black.

____ 3) About half are black and half are white.

____ 4) More than half are white.

____ 5) All are white.

The following questions deal with the influence of various people or groups in your school. We would like you to make two sets of ratings.

A. The actual amount of influence each person or group has, and

B. The amount of influence you feel each should have *ideally*.

In general, how much influence do you think the following groups or persons actually have or, ideally, should have in determining educational matters (e.g., curriculums, policy, etc.) in this school? Please place a check in the box you feel is most appropriate for each group or person.

	(A) ACTUAL INFLUENCE					(B) IDEAL INFLUENCE				
	Little or No Influence (1)	Some Influence (2)	Moderate Influence (3)	Con-siderable Influence (4)	A Great Deal of Influence (5)	Little or No Influence (1)	Some Influence (2)	Moderate Influence (3)	Con-siderable Influence (4)	A Great Deal of Influence (5)
a. The school board	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b.The superintendent	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. The principal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. The teachers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. The students	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. The parents	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

To what extent do the following apply to the principal in your school?

	Not at All (1)	To a Slight Extent (2)	To a Moderate Extent (3)	To a Con-siderable Extent (4)	To a Great Extent (5)
a. The principal helps teachers deal with their classroom problems.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
b. The principal demonstrates a warm personal interest in the staff members.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
c. The principal seeks suggestions from teachers.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
d. Teachers feel that it is all right to ask the principal for help.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
e. The principal allows teachers to violate minor rules.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
f. Teachers call the principal by his first name.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
g. The principal consults with teachers before making major decisions at school.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Listed below are some typical *problems* teachers face *in the classroom*. Which of these problems present some difficulties for you? Please check the appropriate box.

	Not a Problem (1)	A Problem But One I Can Handle (2)	A Problem with Which I'd Like Some Help (3)
a. Teaching youngsters whose abilities are very different from one another.	☐	☐	☐
b. Racial or ethnic hostilities among students.	☐	☐	☐
c. Getting students to do assignments.	☐	☐	☐
d. Dealing with defiance.	☐	☐	☐
e. Trying to help students with their problems.	☐	☐	☐
f. Getting subject matter across effectively.	☐	☐	☐
g. Raising academic achievement of students.	☐	☐	☐
h. Maintaining interest of students.	☐	☐	☐
i. Physical facilities in classroom.	☐	☐	☐
j. Tension felt between me and a youngster of another race.	☐	☐	☐
k. Getting students to pay attention.	☐	☐	☐

Survey assessment devices are available, and may provide the educator with information to guide his actions and thoughts. But this data will influence others only to the extent they helped determine what information was obtained and how it was analyzed. If only one group selects questions and reports findings, only its members are likely to want to use the data for change. If conservative and liberal teachers and black and white students alike can help determine what sort of school diagnosis would be useful, the discussion of the findings can be used to effect change among all school members.

Appendix F:

Principal Designs for Problem Solving

A sound diagnosis and the careful use of the findings to develop strategies for change are rational bases for innovating or altering staff arrangements, curricular foci, or student and community patterns of communication and influence.

When principals are not effective in creating school change, it is often because they lack a clear and concisely stated goal. The value of working toward positive goals rather than merely attempting to eliminate negative factors has been presented elsewhere. Too often, analyses of the situation and subsequent plans stop with the attempt to overcome specific barriers. Another and better approach goes further by defining the positive resources or aids that may be drawn upon. The following are examples of the goals delineated by several principals who also enumerated some barriers and resources for change in their school.

GOALS:

1. Determining the attitudes of staff members relative to educational needs of black children
2. Helping teachers translate their sensitivities into a good instructional program for an interracial classroom

BARRIERS:

1. Socially not permissible to admit to negative attitudes about black children
2. Teachers unaware of their attitudes
3. Teachers not willing to change their attitudes
4. Principal's feelings of inability to secure information without arousing negative feelings.
5. Fear that teachers may feel it is an inquisition
6. Role factor—principal might have more difficulty finding out information than another teacher might
7. Personal lack of information about what goes on in the classroom daily
8. Intimidating effects teachers have on each other when talking about race problems
9. Outside associations which tend to reinforce attitudes of teachers
10. Lack of knowledge of background of teachers

RESOURCES:

1. Questionnaire on staff attitudes toward students
2. Some teachers
3. Competent persons to lead staff discussions
4. Parents
5. Some good consultants at the university
6. Human relations programs in the school
7. Manipulate time schedule—released time for discussions with individual teachers and for teachers to observe other teachers
8. Material already published on teaching culturally disadvantaged
9. Principal's observations of teacher interaction with children
10. Staff discussions of books and articles

GOAL: To create faculty trust in each other and in the principal.

BARRIERS:

1. Personal lack of knowledge of staff's position
2. Teachers resistant to becoming aware that there is a problem
3. Teachers unaware of their own attitudes toward others
4. Teachers aware of the fact, but reluctant to change it
5. Some parents opposed to other parents working on these matters
6. Objections of superintendent or board of education
7. Parents who are not clear about their racial feelings

RESOURCES:

1. Special meetings to determine strengths and weaknesses of various parents and ways they can contribute
2. Parents with previous experiences in schools, such as former teachers
3. Parents with expertise in special areas
4. Human relations council in community
5. Community groups—Jaycees, religious clubs, etc.
6. Parent training programs
7. Teachers who encourage parental participation and collaboration
8. Personal contact with individuals already respected in the community
9. Other principals who have community involvement in their schools

In all these cases the development of a list of resources for change starts the process of planning and developing strategies. It also may indicate what new and additional resources are needed. Noting only barriers, while informative, can be overwhelming, but a list of both resources and barriers can aid specific planning to create change. Priorities also must be established and these may be highly individual. Given the same set of barriers and resources, two principals may still plan different ways of reaching their goals. One may be very sensitive to alienating teachers while another may be impervious to that issue and worry about what he doesn't know about staff members.

Sometimes the focus for change is not the school but the larger educational or community situation. A group of elementary principals in one school system delineated the following problems in influencing the central administration:

PROBLEM:

At the present time, three sets of circumstances are causing elementary principals to feel thwarted, angry, rebellious—

1. We think we have little voice in decisions which affect life in our schools. Frustration arises over important questions of educational programs as well as about routine edicts.
2. Each one of us feels, "Nobody really listens to what I say," and "Nobody cares or even knows about my problems."
3. We feel we are not skillful in working together in our formal meetings to take action in solving our problems.

If this situation continues, each of us may begin to react in one of several ways: rebellion, action outside of accepted channels, retreat from the principals' group and withdrawal into our individual schools, or meek submissiveness to central power structure.

This statement led the principals to request some specific resources in terms of information about working with other principals, providing feedback to the superintendent, participating effectively in principal's meetings, etc. When this information was utilized in planning how to exert influence on peers or superiors, the leaders of the city's principals held discussions which led to plans and strategies for the attainment of system-wide goals.

Appendix G: Suggestions for Using the Record

The record accompanying this manual has been designed to serve several purposes. Each band is intended primarily to illustrate dilemmas and issues in stimulating and provocative ways. However, the record also can be used in staff discussions, with or without the text. Issues can be considered in staff meetings, during special seminar times, in workshops or conferences, or by one or two interested teachers in free moments. This appendix suggests some discussion questions or guides to inquiry for using the record to assist faculty or

administration in exploring key educational issues in school integration.

Any effective use of staff meetings as training sessions or learning opportunities requires skilled instructional leadership. For instance, the focus of discussion should shift frequently from the record to personal style and practice, to peers' approaches, to the example on the record and so on. Assuming that the appropriate resources are available within the staff or from consultants, the following questions for teachers and principals seem suitable. Users must keep in mind that any person or group of teachers may discover or develop other inquiries more important to them than these.

RECORD BAND #1:

(Teacher 1) I don't care if we are desegregated or not. Kids are kids whether they are black, white, green, or purple. They all have to learn.

(Teacher 2) Well, it's not the academic point of view that I'm worried about. If they can't do the work you can just give them an F, but it makes me *sick* to think of them representing our school in these public activities.

Questions for the teacher: Are all kids the same? Will black or white youngsters feel and behave the same in segregated, desegregated, and integrated settings? Why is the second teacher "worried" or "sick"? What would integration look like in your class and school? (Consider both academic and extracurricular scenarios.)

Questions for the principal: What would academic and extracurricular integration look like in your school? If you overheard two teachers having this conversation in the lounge, what would you say?

RECORD BAND #2:

(Interviewer) When are you friends with them, Pete?

(Student) When I'm alone because the other white kids don't kid me about liking a Negro, and also, I try to be nice to them when I'm alone because they, if I'm not nice to them, they can beat me up, and I don't have anyone else around to protect me.

Questions for the teacher: How can you discover if this kind of situation occurs in this school? Isn't the pressure to stay apart quite natural? Should you try to change that pressure? What kind of help from his peers does Pete need? How can you help develop this peer willingness to help? What risks would be involved for you?

Questions for the principal: Would a public announcement by you make a difference? Could discussions with parents make any difference in these pressures?

RECORD BAND #3:

(Teacher) These kids came in, and one of them couldn't get in the door fast enough! You know how they all rush in the room so they can get to sit next to their friends. One of them said, "Goddammit, move out of the way, I've got to get into that class!" And I just didn't know what to do about it, I mean here are these kids learning these terrible things! And they just don't know how to speak with decency, and they're just—my goodness—he says goddam in front of all his friends! You'd think their parents would teach them something at home!

(Consultant) Wait a minute, wait a minute, calm down, calm down! Didn't you ever hear goddam before?

(Teacher) But these are children!

(Consultant) Are they different than adults? Did you ever say goddam?

(Teacher) Of course, but I'm an adult, and I know when to say goddam and when not to say goddam!

(Consultant) What did you do about it?

(Teacher) What would you do? I sent him down to the principal!

(Consultant) You sent him to the principal? Because he said goddam? Were these black kids?

(Teacher) Naturally.

(Consultant) I thought so, so really it's not the time and the goddam, it's the fact that they're black kids.

(Teacher) Well, white kids don't say things like this!

(Consultant) Ah, come on, white kids say things like this every day. I think you're just picking on the black kids because you don't like them. I think they scare you, Geraldine, I think they really scare you!

(Teacher) Well, they do in a way, but nevertheless they scare me for other reasons!

(Consultant) Well let's just stay with this for a few minutes. So the kid says goddam, which is something anybody might say, you . . . me . . . white kids . . . black kids, anybody, right? And you sent him to the principal.

(Teacher) What should I have done?

(Consultant) I guess I think I probably wouldn't have paid any attention to it. But *you* would, so in your case, that's what I'd do, I'd ask them not to use this language in this classroom. I get so damned angry at these teachers

who get so uptight, and so excited, and upset over these kinds of things—these aren't important!

Questions for the teacher: What does the teacher mean by "naturally"? What do you think "scares" Geraldine? How crucial an issue would the "goddammit" be in your class? Do teachers feel different when they hear the phrase from a black youngster than they do when it comes from a white youngster? What do you think of the consultant's final suggestion? Do you think the consultant was helpful to the teacher? Perhaps two teachers can take turns playing out the role of consultant in this scene.

Questions for the principal: If this student came to your office what would you do? Could you have been this consultant talking to the teacher? How would you have consulted if you were there? Perhaps you and a teacher can role play this scene in your own way. What would you do if several teachers demanded action to stop such language?

RECORD BAND #4:

Oh, like the first day of school you go to class, and in a class of 30 people, there may be five blacks. And the teacher makes her own seating chart. She mixes you up with the white people. I mean, that gives you a feeling of being closed in, I don't know why. But if the five black people are together, it gives you a feeling of self-confidence. If you make a mistake or something, then they're with you, I mean you may be wrong, but at least they'll be by your side. But they just split you up then you feel all alone. This year my grades came up a little but, but then I get so involved in racial matters, they go down again. Sometimes I get so I just can't study.

Questions for the teacher: How would you feel about all five blacks sitting together in one part of the class? If that happened would you say anything about it in class? How can you support these students' needs for self-confidence and group security? Do white students feel the same way?

Questions for the principal: Suppose this happened on a large scale in the lunchroom. What would you do about racially separate tables at lunch? Can you offer any advice to the classroom teacher who has just encountered this issue? If your school has a small number of black students, would you rather distribute them evenly in several classes or group them in fewer classes?

RECORD BAND #5:

I had this one class, it was a social problems class, and there were about four black kids in it, and all the rest of the class, about 20 white kids in it. I had this ol' teacher, she thought of herself as the great white who was gonna help all the blacks, and uh, we'd be talking along in class, you know, and the ol' girl in the front row would be listening to the record player, you know, and the ol' teacher would come over and put her arm around her and say, "You shouldn't do things like that in the classroom my dear," and then, I don't know, she was just all the time, you know, pointing the blacks out, you know, it made us whites more aware that there were black students in the class. And I don't know, seems like the black students always got better grades on tests and stuff than we did, I mean, you know, as an average. I don't know why, I guess when the black students started talking about something, you know, she'll build them up, you know, tell them what they're gonna say—so it sounds good in a way, you know, kind of help them along all the time. Well, like we got some really dumb white kids in our class, and they start talking along and the teacher just lets them bumble. Kind of makes us whites, you know, feel like the blacks are better than us, that she thinks they are, cause they deserve more attention cause they haven't gotten attention from other places. And man, I think they should just make it on their own, cause we all had to, we all had to work at it. She makes the blacks like her, I guess, by being nice to them, but she doesn't help the white students like her, and she doesn't help black-white relationships any, she makes the blacks unequal to the whites, in a way.

White students just think they're better than we are, just little things. For instance, I get out at 2:30 every day. So this teacher didn't believe me, and a student came around to ask me how come I got out at 2:30 and I *knew* that she had asked him to ask me, so I told him to go away and I was going back and she called out loud, "John, you told me a lie!" Then I started to walk away, and she said, "What's wrong?" and I said, "The same damn thing that's wrong with all you white teachers . . . you don't have to know where I'm going!" And I walked away, cause if I stayed there I wouldn't be in school now. She told one of the classes that she had no use for Negroes, and I told her, "We don't have any use for you all either."

Questions for the teacher: What spe-

cific things do some teachers do, consciously, or unconsciously, that create the image the white student has in the first excerpt and the image the black student has in the second excerpt? Why do teachers do such things? If your students, white or black, came to you with either report, what would you say to them? What would you do? Perhaps two teachers can role play the conversation between the student reporting the incident and a teacher listening. Another role play might depict the scene between the teacher receiving the report and the original teacher in question.

Questions for the principal: How would you approach the teacher who had either of these classes? Perhaps that approach can be role played with yourself and one or more teachers or with one teacher playing the role of the principal.

RECORD BAND #6:

> Well, at first I had all these kinds of fears about what to do when you had black kids in the class for the first time. I mean I've never taught black kids, and I didn't know what to expect of them, or how they would react with the other kids, and so I thought I perhaps would change my lesson plans, my studies. And then I came to the conclusion: No, why should I do that, this is a democratic society, it's a democratic school, and I recognize that some of them came into the classroom with limitations.

Questions for the teacher: What does this teacher probably mean by "democratic"? What does this teacher probably mean by "limitations"? How could you help this teacher get ready for black students? If this teacher doesn't change her lesson plans, how will she act on her recognition of limitations?

Questions for the principal: Should this teacher be in this school? What help does she need during her first year of teaching black students? What resources exist inside or outside the school to aid this and similar teachers?

RECORD BAND #7:

> In class you don't feel free to discuss. You start talking about race relations and problems in the ghetto, and you read this stuff and it's written by white men, and you know he doesn't know anything about the ghetto . . . he's never been there, only what his data has shown, that's all he knows. And you read about this stuff in a book and you can't learn it, you really can't learn it because you know it's not true. You know it's a blah to learn it.

Questions for the teacher: Can you feel what this youngster feels? Can you role play his feelings with someone else? Is this the kind of text used in your school's history and social studies' classes? What is the connection between these feelings about such material and students' motivation to learn it? What new material could be added?

Questions for the principal: Is there anything you can do?

RECORD BAND #8:

> I'm in a real dilemma. I want to teach at the best level I can and to have everybody to come away or grasp something at the end of the semester, and you want to gear your courses to the highest students. Then you've got these kids in there that are so unfamiliar with the stuff and who are not familiar with writing compositions in the style that we demand, whose level of competence is not equal to the students who have been enrolled in the school. I'm not saying that all black students are stupid, or they're not as good as the other kids, but what do you do when the kids don't know anything about the *Grapes of Wrath*?

Questions for the teacher: Why does this teacher select *Grapes of Wrath* as the example of an important standard? What would you select? Are there novels you know about which might be more interesting for black youngsters? For Chicanos? For Puerto Ricans? For Indians? For Chinese? For Japanese? For Appalachians? To what extent should all these students learn standard American literature?

Questions for the principal: How would you explain changes in the typical literature curriculum to a white middle class school board? How would you explain it to your staff or to a white parent?

RECORD BAND #9:

> In our school, we have this third culture program where kids are exposed to a different form of life, different anthropological ways of living. My second grade class saw a movie where an Eskimo gave his son a fish eye. At first the kids said that was terrible and bloody, but then one little boy said, "You know? You can really tell that the father loves his son, because he kept giving him the fish eye, and it really must be a treat. I guess he must love his son very much." Then we talked about how different cultures display different emotions like love, anger, hate, pleasure, and disappointment.

Questions for the teacher: Are you or is anyone in this school doing anything of this sort? What issues in different cultures would be impor-

tant to illustrate for elementary school children? For junior high school youngsters? For seniors in high school? How can you contrast and compare various practices or traditions in one society with ours? How can you portray differences from within the class?

Questions for the principal: What special resources would teachers need to do such things in classrooms?

RECORD BAND #10:

(Teacher) Well, this was probably the point that was the one most important to the administration, that kept them from even considering the possible implementation of that idea, of a kind of community council rather than just a student council. Because the administration feels like that they have to have the final control of whether or not kids wear bell bottoms or hair codes, and so on, and I think the kids should have some kind of decisionmaking role to play in things like that in which they're involved. They certainly ought to have some voice in making those decisions for the whole school.

(Interviewer) So what happened?

(Teacher) Well, the principal and the assistant principal and the counselor, three of the counselors because we're divided that way, and a couple of teacher representatives were there when the two kids and myself brought this proposal in. And even though it was fairly favorably received the dress code thing became the focus of the refusal to consider it as part of the structure of the school, because it would somehow rather be taking too much control away from where they think it should lie.

Questions for the teacher: Do students at this school desire more influence over things like their own codes for hair and dress? How much influence on such matters should they have? What next steps might the teacher take in encouraging this possibility?

For the principal: How would you react to such a proposal? What might be this principal's reasons for refusal? If you were to approve such a step, would you have any difficulty getting faculty support? Parental support?

RECORD BAND #11:

Yea, well our principal, I think he's really a good guy. You know, you really get the feeling that he's with it, he's really with the kids. You see him around everywhere in the halls, you know, he'll say hello to you. I don't think he knows everybody's name, but he gives the impression that he knows you. You sort of have that feeling about him. Like there's a . . . at our football games, there's a popcorn machine; and he could go to the head of the line and get it, you know, like he's the principal, but he just stands in line like everybody else and he waits his turn.

Questions for the teacher: Would you like to work with a principal who is seen by his students this way?

Questions for the principal: What are some other things this principal probably does? Do you do those things? Would it make any difference in your relations with your faculty if you were seen this way by your students?

RECORD BAND #12:

There was this little Mexican-American girl in my son's accelerated class in the second grade. He is in the fourth grade now. And she was a charming little girl and I thought she was very bright, but the next year, she wasn't in his class, and the kids are supposed to stay together all the way through this accelerated program. So I went to the third grade teacher and asked her why Rosie wasn't in the accelerated class this year, and perhaps she had moved out of town, and the teacher said no, she was in town, but she just couldn't do the work. And I asked her why she had been put in the accelerated class in the first place, and the teacher responded that she didn't know why she had been put there, but that she just didn't think she could do the work and keep up with the rest of the children. Well maybe she couldn't, but I was really highly suspicious.

Questions for the teacher: Why do you think this parent cares? What might be the parent's suspicions? If the parent came to you as a third party, what would you do?

Questions for the principal: What could you say to this parent? What would you say to the 3rd-grade teacher?

RECORD BAND #13:

Here's an example that happened, sort of a strange thing. One of the little fellows in my class who happens to be black came in and said he was sick, so I said, "Well why don't you go and lie down, and rest up a bit." And he did have the flu and was out about a week from school so I imagine he was pretty weak. So he went to lie down when all of a sudden the principal walked in and said, "What are you doing here? You're not sick. Go back to the classroom!"

Questions for the teacher: What is this teacher feeling about the principal? Why would the principal have done this? Would you feel overruled or supported in such a situation? Would you ask for an explanation? Would you confront the principal on his behavior? Would you need some support to do that? Perhaps several teachers can role play these scenes.

Questions for the principal: Why didn't this principal check with the teacher before sending the student back to class? How could he explain his action to the teacher?

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